

RECENT GAINS IN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

THE WORLD TOMORROW

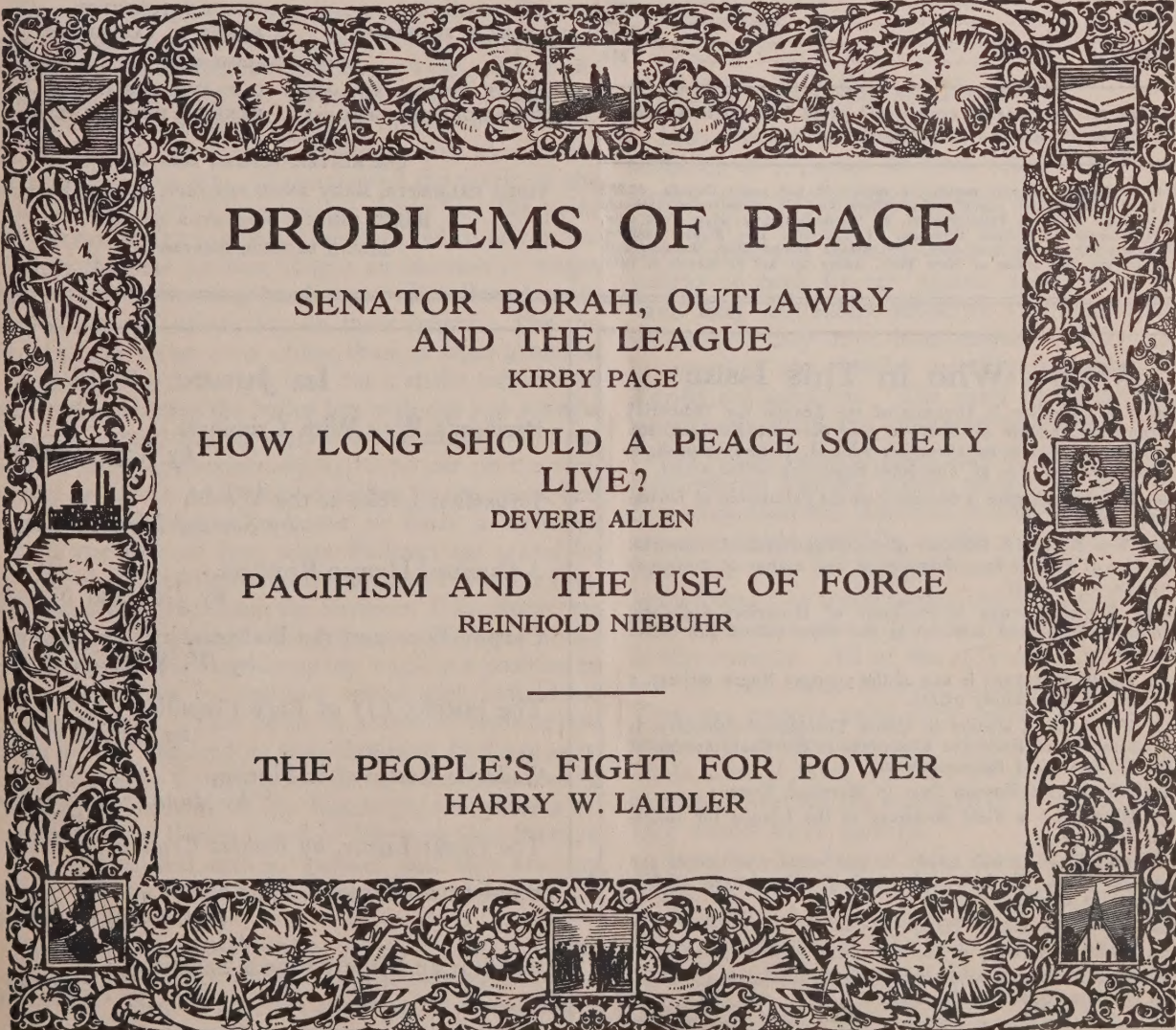
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No. 5



PROBLEMS OF PEACE

SENATOR BORAH, OUTLAWRY
AND THE LEAGUE

KIRBY PAGE

HOW LONG SHOULD A PEACE SOCIETY
LIVE?

DEVERE ALLEN

PACIFISM AND THE USE OF FORCE

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE PEOPLE'S FIGHT FOR POWER

HARRY W. LAIDLER

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
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Pacifism and International Sanctions,
by Kirby Page

Editorials, Not in the Headlines, Book Reviews,
Clippings and Findings are regular sections of
each issue.

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XI.

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Editorials

Need the Pullman Porters Strike?

There are roughly eleven thousand Pullman Porters in this country and seventy-five hundred have joined their union. The membership is growing. Their organization petitioned the Railroad Labor Board for recognition and to rectify certain blatant evils in the service and in working conditions. But the Labor Board refused to act. It recognized the merit of the petition; it admitted "reasonable doubt" on the point of "discrimination in tariff," but declined to act on the grounds that the petition sought an increase in wages and changes in working conditions. The Board maintains it has no jurisdiction on these points. The decision was given on aims rather than on legal grounds.

And now the union has sent out a strike ballot. As this is being written the ballot has been out just a week. There is a good deal of unrest in the ranks. The returns to date, approximately 65 to 70 per cent, unanimously call for a walk-out. Leaders in the union feel it is an advantageous moment to force a decision. This is the time of year when Pullman car travel increases; the Republican and Democratic National Conventions are approaching; the Shriners, Elks, Rotarians and many others are planning tours. With the strike threatened the Pullman Company is not in a position to make agreements for summer travel with individuals or with groups. This holds in abeyance reservations of some four hundred to four thousand Pullman cars.

The Pullman Company is raising a smoke screen in refusing to deal with Philip Randolph, the general organizer for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. They will not deal with a "radical" and they are suggesting that he resign. His answer is that he will not resign.

Few people realize that the dining car men have been organized for twenty years. They have slowly secured better pay, sleeping quarters while on trips and better working conditions. There is no reason why the Sleeping Car men should not organize and the unpleasant tipping practice be abolished. The needs are obvious and the union is valiantly exerting pressure toward a

solution of a long standing problem. We hope the porters will succeed in realizing their demands without a costly strike.

Tariffs and Subsidies

Industrialists are generally opposed to government subsidies as a means of farm relief. They say that money grants to private citizens are unsound in principle and disastrous in practice. They are probably right. Yet the same groups that are now raising shrieks to high heaven against subsidies to farmers have long demanded subsidies to business interests. Moreover, they have been extraordinarily successful in securing the special privileges thus demanded. Tariffs are subsidies. The chief beneficiaries are the manufacturers in the sheltered industries. To some extent the workers in these trades are benefited. Certain indirect benefits accrue to the entire population. It is very doubtful, however, whether or not the workers as a whole profit by tariffs, since tariffs invariably raise the cost of living. Economists are generally agreed that free trade among our forty-eight states has been a primary reason for the rising standard of living in this country. All of the *economic* arguments in favor of free trade between Massachusetts and New York are equally valid with regard to free trade between Massachusetts and Ontario. There is little doubt that if tariff barriers all over the world were gradually lowered the standard of living for the human race would move upward.

Attention has dramatically been called to the way in which tariffs are manipulated for the benefit of privileged groups by the resignation of Edward P. Costigan as a member of the United States Tariff Commission. Under the present tariff law the President of the United States is granted extensive power to lower or to raise specified rates. The Tariff Commission is supposed to be a body of impartial specialists to advise the President. Mr. Costigan charges that the Commission has been packed with high tariff lobbyists and that

it is thereby disqualified for rendering the service for which it was created. His resignation has resulted in wide reverberations over the country. Rural people especially are becoming more insistent that they receive public favors equal to those granted to business interests. They will not be satisfied until one of two things happens: either the industrialists must take their feet out of the public trough, or they must move over and make room for the farmers' feet in the same trough.

The Bear and the Lion

The Russian bear and the British lion have been engaged in a mighty tussle at Geneva. The combat was inconclusive. The lion appears to have been the winner. Yet he was badly torn and looks very apprehensive. The bear is merely waiting for a propitious moment to make another onslaught. The row was over disarmament. At first the Russians demanded the whole hog—complete disarmament. Then they intimated that half-a-hog would satisfy them. For this they were regarded as gluttons and were treated as pariahs.

We have not heard the last of this controversy over disarmament. Certainly, we hope not. There will be no permanent peace until the nations disarm and rely for security and justice upon the technique of peace. We have no doubt whatever that the world would be a much safer place in which to dwell if the Russians' proposals had been accepted. Yet we understand that, in addition to certain greedy ambitions, the great Allied Powers have two explanations of their refusal to disarm. First, they have a sense of insecurity. They fear each other. They are afraid to rely upon the devices of peace. Second, they know that the Bolsheviks are advocating the violent overthrow of capitalist governments. Obviously this purpose could be more easily accomplished if the latter were to disarm. Disarmament proposals from the Russians will not be taken seriously as long as they are advocating violent class war. The structure of international organization must be strengthened and war delegatized before disarmament can be accomplished.

Missionaries and Protection

Many years ago King Theodore of Abyssinia summed up in epigram the complaint of the "heathen" in more countries than his: "First came the missionaries, then the consuls, and after them, the armies."

Acutely conscious of the harm to the missionary enterprise in the policy of a more or less illusory but always provocative military protection, members of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in China in 1923 disavowed any desire for protection

through the use of force by their governments. A few months afterward, twenty-one American missionaries in China requested our legation in Peking that no form of military pressure, especially no military force, be used to protect them or their property.

And now the leaven of this practical good sense and courage has spread still more widely. With the recent announcement of the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions that it is "disposed to join" other American missionary bodies in a request of the State Department to permit missionaries to waive their rights to military protection abroad, this great denomination adds its weight to the Congregationalists and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, which had already decided on such a move. If acceded to, the petition would bring an opportunity to missionaries to work uncompromised by a governmental policy flatly contradictory to the methods of Jesus, whose way of life they are seeking to teach and demonstrate. Only such diplomatic protection is asked as would be devoid of the "use, threat, or show of military force," and by "such methods as will promote good will in personal and official relations."

Daughters of American Reaction

When in the course of human events the scions of revolutionary stock are found arrayed on the side of reaction, no one need be unduly astonished. Ancestor worship, irrespective of the ancestors, is a kind of devotion rarely productive of progressive views. The logic of time, after all, is the strongest logic, and lip service to dead revolutions need hardly lead to revolt against the entrenched ideas of a later day.

Nevertheless, we hold these truths to be self-evident: the D. A. R., under the leadership it has been blessed with during the post-war years, has not only been unsympathetic toward radical thought, but has become a leading representative, in modern society, of many ideas which the revered forefathers struggled against; it has sought to convey the notion that our present economic and political trends are exactly in accord with the ideals handed down by Washington, Jefferson and most certainly by the greatest Secretary of the Treasury prior to Andrew Mellon; and it has waged vigorous combat against some terrifying modern phantoms—as evidenced by its latest blacklist.

Unlike some of those thus "stigmatized," we have not burst forth with assurances of our perfect harmlessness and orthodoxy. In fact, we fondly indulge the hope that to American militarism and reaction in general we are, if scarcely deadly, at any rate not totally lacking in effect. We can totter along for a short time even if we are not invited to sit on the platform at the right hand of the Daughters' presiding officials. But being, as it were, graduates from the school of hero-worshippers, we feel a lingering affection for the

Founding Fathers. And although anything can be demonstrated from proof-texts, we feel jealous of certain aspects of our forbears' thinking, which seem too often overlooked. We invite the attention of the D. A. R. to Mr. Washington, for example, who wrote of war in 1785, "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth and the sons and daughters (small "d") employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind." Benjamin Franklin's remark, certainly sound in its first half, is well remembered: "There never was a good war or a bad peace." To his sister Franklin wrote from the floor of the constitutional convention (Sept. 20, 1783), "I agree with you perfectly in your Disapprobation of War." Jefferson, though hesitant at first, finally allowed the use of his name as an Honorary Member of the most active of our early peace societies. The sage of Monticello also wrote: "Those peaceful coercions which are in the power of every nation, if undertaken in concert and in time of peace, are more likely to produce the desired effect." He went on to speak of "our Quaker system."

The D. A. R. has on occasion seen fit to hold up the peace ideals of the sainted early leaders. At the National Arbitration and Peace Congress held in New York in 1907, Mrs. Helen Beach Tillotson and Captain Richmond P. Hobson, as representatives of the D. A. R., presented Andrew Carnegie with a large peace flag. And what a flag, from the viewpoint of the latter-day D. A. R.! It consisted of a regular American flag with a broad white border, bearing white streamers on which were sewed miniature flags of the other countries of the world. Hobson said, according to the stenographic record, to Mr. Carnegie—with whose money some of the organizations recently blacklisted were established—"In the name of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, now in congress assembled in the city of Washington, we present to you the beautiful flag of peace now floating over this great congress, in token of their affectionate appreciation of the great and beautiful work and labor of love that you have done and are doing in the holy cause of Universal Peace." In his reply, the man of peace and steel declared, "I shall keep that flag always, and it never shall float over men killing each other, but shall remain a glorious heritage to my successors."

Even though the ironmaster's money was used to support "men killing each other" in 1917 and 1918, through the organizations endowed by him, it has not been dedicated in peace time to heresy-hunting. Such has been one of the D. A. R.'s major interests in late years. Will the more tolerant Daughters keep up their struggle against reactionary leadership? Or is the organization of revolutionary scions to go on forever,

seeking life, liberty, and the pursuit of scrappiness?

Who Cuts the Melon?

A recent bear movement in the stock exchange in which the stocks of the General Motors and the Radio Corporation were particularly prominent is said to have netted the stockholders of the former company a profit of some one hundred and sixty million dollars in one day, while those of the latter made over forty million.

This new movement, coming on the heels of the General Motors stock dividend last year and preceding a cyclonic rise, prompted some wise observer with a penchant for mathematics to take his pencil in hand and do a little "figuring." His research resulted in the astonishing information that ten thousand dollars invested in the motor trust in 1908 is now worth \$1,600,000 and might be worth \$2,300,000 had the stockholder exercised certain options when stock dividends were declared. Meanwhile he would also have had the benefit of cash dividends over the twenty-year period, amounting to \$292,880.

This is the wealth which flows from the productivity of the modern machine. How much has labor shared in the division of this wealth? There has no doubt been some slight gain for labor; but since 1920 average wages in this country have declined from an index figure of 235 to an index figure of 233. A vice-president of the motor company celebrated the last rise in the stock with an interview in which he attributed the prosperity of the company to the efficiency which resulted from the participation of eighty prominent General Motors executives in ownership of the stock. Being not merely hirelings but owners, he declared, had stimulated these leaders to render the kind of service which brought prosperity to the industry. One wonders what kind of blindness prevents these captains of industry from realizing that an industrial society can not maintain its health if it rewards only the leaders and not the men in the ranks. If industry can see that it must take the sub-executives into the charmed circle of prosperity with the executives and owners ought it not finally realize that no one connected with the production of wealth can be excluded from participating in its benefits, with impunity? Will not future generations look with amazement and incredulity at the moral blindness of a day which regulates its industrial affairs upon the uncritical assumption that a small group of owners has the right to appropriate the vast wealth which the machine and thousands of toilers have created? What will they say of the stubborn resistance of the owners to every effort for wage increases? One does not even need the perspective of history to see how many of our social sanities are really insanities.

Senator Borah, Outlawry and the League

KIRBY PAGE

THE nations of Europe are very eager to find out just what interpretation Secretary Kellogg gives to the phrase "unqualified renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy." Even in the United States there is the widest possible divergence of opinion as to what the Secretary means by these words. My friend John Haynes Holmes, an enthusiastic outlawrist, has interpreted Mr. Kellogg's offer as follows:

Now comes an end to compromise. No more are men proposing to clip a few twigs or lop off a few branches. It is the will of America that the ax be laid at the root of the tree. Renounce war altogether—abolish the system—disestablish the institution—proscribe all recourse to fighting for any reason, with any weapons, to any end whatsoever! Here is a real program offered by a responsible government. Unless mankind is obdurately blind and congenitally stupid the day of peace has dawned.

Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, author of *The Outlawry of War*, has offered the following interpretation:

Mr. Kellogg launched a new idea when he made his offer of a general treaty renouncing war. The idea had taken root in certain circles of American peace thinking, but was wholly new to Europe. . . . The fact that America has defined the issue between peace and war in simple unambiguous terms and has chosen peace spells the doom of war. . . . If Christ was standing among us it would be like him to say, I see Satan falling as lightning from heaven. . . . It is, we say, the natal day of peace. The peace movement has at last been born. There has been no peace movement until now.

In the effort to discover whether or not Secretary Kellogg really intends to "proscribe all recourse to fighting for any reason" and whether he has spoken "in simple unambiguous terms," let us examine his attitude toward the following questions: 1. Is the use of armed force in self defense permissible for a nation? 2. If so, what is self defense? 3. Should the use of armed force in self defense be called war? 4. What about collective self defense by a group of nations which feel unable to protect themselves without joint action? Wherein does the peace movement which has at last been born differ from the League of Nations' program with regard to these questions?

1. *Let us begin with the attitude of outlawrists toward self defense.* Does Mr. Kellogg propose to proscribe all recourse to fighting? Is he willing to give up the right of armed intervention in Nicaragua and elsewhere? Does he propose to abandon the right to use armed force in upholding the Monroe Doctrine? Is he ready to renounce all armed protection of the Panama Canal? Is he prepared to abandon the use of armed force in maintaining our rights upon the high

seas? Does the renunciation of "fighting for any reason" debar a nation from armed resistance if attacked?

It is not enough to say that Secretary Kellogg proposes to outlaw the *institution* of war and to renounce war as an *instrument of national policy*. There is no consensus of opinion as to what these phrases mean in terms of a specific program. Either he means to abandon completely the use of all armed force or else he reserves the right to use armed force under certain circumstances. The former is pure pacifism, the latter is—nobody knows what. More details are required before his meaning is clear.

The outlawry program has not usually been interpreted as a pacifist movement. Some of the chief outlawrists are absolute pacifists but most of them do not so classify themselves. If Secretary Kellogg has joined the ranks of the pacifists, the news has not yet reached us. On the contrary, explicit denial that outlawry is pacifism has been made. Dr. Morrison says: "The outlawry of war movement is not a pacifist movement. . . . The whole controversy over pacifism is neither affected nor involved in the movement to outlaw war." In the Plan for the Outlawry of War, published in *The Christian Century* on July 17, 1924, Article III, Section 2, reads: "War between nations shall be declared to be a public crime under the law of nations, but the right of self defense against actual invasion shall not be impaired." While Article III, Section 11, reads: "National armaments to be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety and reasonable international requirements." That is to say, the outlawry program not only recognizes the right of armed self defense but retains the armaments system for "international requirements." Both of these points were emphasized in my recent interview with Senator Borah, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, published in *The New York Times*, on March 25, 1928.¹

If an attack is made, said the Senator, on Belgium (or any other signatory) by one of the parties to the agreement, the resultant breach of the multilateral treaty would thereby ipso facto release the other signatories and enable them to adopt whatever measures seem most adequate under the circumstances. In other words, a violation of the treaty by one of its signatories automatically restores liberty of action to all other signatories. . . . Outlawry does not include disarmament, although it is hoped and expected that when the institution of war has been outlawed the nations will feel such a sense of security that they will no longer regard heavy armaments as necessary or desirable.

¹ We are grateful to *The New York Times* for permission to quote at length from this interview.

That this is also the position of Secretary Kellogg is revealed in the French note of March 30th. Ambassador Claudel says in this communication:

My Government likewise gathers from the declarations which Your Excellency was good enough to make to me on the first of last March the assurance that the renunciation of war, thus proclaimed, could not deprive the Signatories of the right of legitimate defense.

In response to the question as to whether or not nations will be legally entitled to use armed force in self defense after war is outlawed, Dr. Morrison in a personal letter to the writer replied:

This question presupposes that an actual attack has occurred, initiated by one nation without reciprocal responsibility on the part of the other. Such a situation does not arise under modern conditions. The question therefore is purely theoretical. As such, however, it is entitled to a theoretical answer. My answer is twofold: First, whether it is legal or not, a nation actually and wantonly attacked will, in the present state of human nature, surely resist with armed force unless it is utterly helpless. You cannot by legislation of any kind suppress the impulse of self defense, whether in the case of individuals or nations. Law, whether imposed by authority or created by voluntary treaty or contract, cannot touch the right of self defense. Secondly, if war were outlawed, it would not be illegal for a nation to defend itself against such actual and wanton attack because the attacking nation would have violated the compact by which war had been made illegal, and the attacked nation would thereby be released from its obligation under the compact. I repeat that this answer applies to a theoretical situation.

WHAT is the attitude of the League toward self defense? The signatories to the Covenant have entered into a multilateral treaty renouncing aggression against each other. Three members of the League—France, Germany, and Belgium—have, in the Locarno treaty, outlawed war among themselves, the only reservation being that one dealing with the right to use armed force against any signatory nation violating that agreement or the Covenant. The legal right of armed self defense is not questioned either by leading outlawrists or by chief exponents of the League.

2. *What is national self defense?* Who determines when the use of armed force by a nation is permissible? Who decides *what* methods of self defense are justifiable? Senator Borah maintains that

there is no satisfactory definition of aggression. I have spent hours trying to hit upon one and have concluded that it is impossible to discover a satisfactory formula. It seems to me, therefore, that the question of aggression and defense must be decided in the light of the particular circumstances at each time of crisis and that no satisfactory definition can be discovered in advance.

In a personal letter, Dr. Morrison expressed the following opinion on this point:

There are, of course, many conceivable alternatives to armed

force for purposes of self defense. But these depend for their full efficacy upon the existence of a real court of international law to which a nation which does not want to fight may present its case. With war outlawed, such a court would not consider the case in terms of self defense at all. There would be no place for the distinction between "aggressor" and "defender." The pertinent distinction would be that between guilty and innocent. The court would not need to ask, which nation was the aggressor, and which the defender? It would ask, which nation is guilty of breaking its pledge not to go to war? Which nation has thus violated international law? Which nation is therefore the criminal? And the court's determination of that question would be almost automatic. The subtle and elusive distinctions between aggression and defense would have nothing to do with it. The innocent nation—the nation which does not want to settle the dispute by war—will promptly file its complaint with the court asking for a judicial adjudication of the dispute. The court, exercising the affirmative jurisdiction with which it has been clothed, will summon in the other nation. If the summons is heeded, war will be averted. If the summons is not heeded, and military attack is pressed, the case will be clear. The nation which took its case to the court is innocent, the nation which refused to do so and continues to fight is the criminal nation. The innocent nation has kept its pledge and obeyed the law against war. The guilty nation has broken its pledge and violated the law of nations. The aggressor-defender antithesis is wholly irrelevant.

Please note that I have placed the responsibility for determining the guilty nation upon the *court*, not upon the League, nor upon the other nations as such. This I regard as all-important. No decision given by the League, or by a group of nations, could provide a sufficiently objective and disinterested verdict to command the focussing of world opinion against an alleged criminal nation. And besides,—and this is the nub of the matter,—the attempt by the League or any group of nations to render such a judgment would inevitably, *in a crisis involving a major power*, result in splitting the League and spreading the conflict to many if not all of its members. The attempt of any politico-military agency to determine the guilt or innocence of two nations involved in a quarrel runs the risk of spreading the havoc instead of arresting it. Only a juridical institution—a real world court—may safely assume such a responsibility.

What is the attitude of the League members toward this question? Contrary to a widespread idea, the Council does not decide when the Covenant has been violated. It merely expresses an opinion. Each member nation decides for itself whether or not a breach has occurred. This idea has been emphasized frequently in the various meetings of the Assembly, the Council and committees of the League. On October 4, 1921, the Assembly adopted resolutions which included the following significant sentence:

It is the duty of each member of the League to decide for itself whether a breach of the Covenant has been committed. . . . If the Council is of *opinion* that a state has been guilty of a breach of Covenant, the Minutes of the meeting at which that opinion is arrived at shall be immediately sent

to all Members of the League, accompanied by a statement of reasons and by an *invitation* to take action accordingly.

MOREOVER, the Council does not have the right or power to determine what measures shall be taken against a nation which is adjudged guilty by the respective members of the League, after each has made its own decision that a breach has been committed. Each member nation also decides for itself what measures it feels obliged to adopt. In its reply rejecting the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the British Government pointed out that "under Article 16 of the Covenant, the Council can only *recommend* action, while even under Article 10 it can only *advise*." In September, 1921, the Commission of Jurists on Article 10 made a report to the Assembly which included the following paragraph:

The members are not obliged to take part in any military action. It is true that Article 16 alludes to joint military action to be organized, on the recommendation of the Council, by the several Governments concerned; but, in general, the members are not legally bound to take part in such action. . . . The Committee wishes to point out that there can be no doubt that the Council, under the terms of this Article, can only advise as to the means to be employed; it cannot impose them.

President Wilson, in the famous conference with the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, said: "The Council of the League can only 'advise upon' the means by which the obligations of that great Article are to be given effect to. . . . Each Government is free to reject it if it please."

The Fourth Assembly voted 29 to 1 in favor of the following interpretative resolution dealing with Article 10:

It is in conformity with the spirit of Article 10 that, in the event of the Council considering it to be its duty to recommend the application of military measures in consequence of an aggression, or danger or threat of aggression, the Council shall be bound to take account, more particularly, of the geographical situation and of the special conditions of each state. It is for the Constitutional authorities of each member to decide, in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of members, in what degree the member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces. The recommendation made by the Council shall be regarded as being of the highest importance and shall be taken into consideration by all the members of the League with the desire to execute their engagements in good faith.

Persia was the only nation voting in the negative, while England, France, Italy, Japan, Spain, Sweden, etc., voted in the affirmative, with twenty-two nations refraining from voting. The Chairman declared the motion neither adopted nor rejected. Later action by League members, however, clearly indicates that this interpretation has been accepted by the great powers.

For example, the Locarno signatories sent a collective note to Germany in which they said that in their opinion "the obligations resulting from the said Article (16) on the members of the League must be understood to mean that each state member of the League is bound to cooperate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account." This note needs to be supplemented by the reminder that Germany has the same status as every other member of the League and accordingly has the right to decide for itself when it considers a breach of the Covenant to have been committed and what measures it feels obliged to adopt in order to fulfill its obligations under the Covenant.

After an exhaustive study of this whole question, Professor Bruce Williams, of the University of Virginia, says: "At least one general deduction may be made as a result of the evolution to date of the principles embodied in Articles 10 and 16. Although they set up general obligations of a legal nature, it is for the individual states, and not for an organ of the League, to decide when a *casus fœderis* has arisen, and furthermore, in accordance with the traditions of international law, the individual states are accorded the right to judge the scope of their obligations under these Articles."

3. *Should the use of armed force by a nation in self defense be called war?* If a signatory nation to a multilateral outlawry treaty is guilty of a gross breach of this pact, the other signatories automatically recover liberty of action. What if they use armed force in self defense? Are they waging war? There are very wide differences of opinion with regard to this question. I recently secured opinions on this point from eight competent students of international problems. They divided almost equally, half saying yes and half replying no. When I put this question to Senator Borah, he replied, "Certainly. To say otherwise is to make a distinction that is without a difference." Dr. Morrison's reply was "Yes." Mr. S. O. Levinson gave a double answer: "Yes, if reference is made to the interim period before a *universal* outlawry treaty is ratified; no, after war is universally outlawed."

It should be remembered that the outlawry program does not affect the legality of maintaining the armaments system, nor does it take away the right of a nation to use armaments in self defense. Although this program proposes to outlaw the *institution* of war, the constituent elements of the institution are not outlawed. The outlawry program does not seek to make illegal the maintenance of an army, navy, marines, Citizens' Military Training Camps, R. O. T. C. in high schools and colleges, etc. The legality of armed preparedness is unaffected by the outlawry program. Neither does the outlawry proposal, as interpreted by Senator Borah

and Dr. Morrison, take away the right of a nation to wage war against the violator of a multilateral outlawry treaty to which it is a party. Thus interpreted, all that the outlawry program proposes to outlaw is the use of war *as an instrument of national policy*, that is, to delegatize war for every purpose except actual self defense.

Is not this what Briand means by "a solemn declaration condemning recourse to war as an instrument of national policy, or in other words as a means of carrying out their own spontaneous, independent policy?" Is not this also the attitude of the Covenant of the League? The signatories to the Covenant have renounced aggression. For these signatories war of aggression is illegal. It has already been outlawed. The legal right of a member to use armed force in self defense is not involved in or affected by the Covenant. If a member nation violates the Covenant and another signatory uses armed force in resisting the violator, such resistance is called defensive war. Does not the Covenant outlaw war *as an instrument of national policy*? Instantly comes the query, what about the League wars? Does not the League recognize the legality of the war system? This leads naturally to our next point.

4. *What about collective self defense?* Suppose a signatory to a multilateral outlawry treaty violates the agreement, what action would the other signatories be justified in taking? In answer to this question, Senator Borah said:

Another important result of such a treaty, would be to enlist the support of the United States in co-operative action against any nation which is guilty of a flagrant violation of this outlawry agreement. Of course, the Government of the United States must reserve the right to decide, in the first place, whether or not the treaty has been violated, and second, what coercive measures it feels obliged to take. But it is quite inconceivable that this country would stand idly by in case of a grave breach of a multilateral treaty to which it is a party.

In response to a question as to whether the United States Government should reserve the right exclusively to decide when a breach of the treaty has occurred and what action is required, Senator Borah replied:

Of course, in such a crisis we would consult with the other signatories and take their judgment into account. But we should not bind ourselves in advance to accept their decision if it runs counter to our own conclusion.

IN response to the question as to whether or not collective armed self defense by a group of nations would be legally justifiable after war is outlawed, Dr. Morrison said:

On the theoretical assumption previously discussed, yes. . . . What practical steps should be taken under such circumstances by other nations not involved in the dispute is a matter for those nations to determine. That they would do nothing is inconceivable. Continued military action against a nation which is calling upon the court to decide its case would be equivalent to an attack upon the entire society of nations. The society of nations—I use this term in the sense of the League of Nations or in the less formal sense—would have a stake in the maintenance of the international law of peace which the criminal nation has violated, and could be depended upon to act accordingly. The attention of the whole world would be focussed on the court's decision. The public opinion of the world would have unambiguous legal grounds for taking action against a nation which has been declared a law violator, a criminal. The means through which international public opinion would operate might be financial or diplomatic, or what not. Certainly such a criminal nation would be subject to definite legal consequences in the denial of title to any territory or other property which it secured as a result of its criminality. Under the outlawry of war one of the elementary statutes of international law would surely be the denial of title to territory or other property seized by force of arms. The intelligence of the nations could be trusted to devise ample and sufficiently poignant measures against such a criminal nation to bring it back into the society of nations, without resort to the irrelevant and barbarous method of slaying its innocent men, women and children.

What is the position of the League members with regard to collective self defense? In the Council they confer together as to whether a breach of the Covenant has occurred and what measures should be adopted. Yet each signatory decides both of these questions for itself. But suppose the members of the League feel obliged to cooperate with each other in using collective armed force against a violator of the Covenant, is not the League waging war and recognizing the legality of the war system? Or, to take another illustration, suppose Great Britain and Italy, as guarantors of the Locarno treaty, come to the armed assistance of the victim of a violation of that pact, are they not waging war? The answer in both cases is in the affirmative. But wherein does action of this kind differ from "the support of the United States in cooperative action against any nation which is guilty of a flagrant violation of this outlawry agreement"? Senator Borah and Dr. Morrison, as well as most League advocates, agree that "it is quite inconceivable that a country would stand idly by in case of a grave breach of a multilateral treaty to which it is a party." And so a League war against a violator of the Covenant does not differ in principle from the collective armed action against the violator of a multilateral outlawry treaty permitted by the outlawry program.

There is, however, one important difference. The outlawry program does not provide for definite agreements in advance of a crisis which commit the signatories to collective action, whereas many members

of the League have entered into such treaties, notably at Locarno. But even with regard to this point, Senator Borah is very sympathetic toward those nations that lack the natural security afforded the United States by its geographical position and history. He went so far as to say:

It is quite likely that questions of this character will have to be considered when the proposed conference is convened to negotiate a multilateral outlawry treaty. Traditions, customs, fears, hatreds, fixed habits and institutions cannot be dispelled overnight through the necromancy of words. We must be realistic. It would be fatal to ignore the psychological aspects of the problem. For the time being it may be necessary to make concessions and to permit exposed and fearful nations to formulate plans for common action in case they are attacked.

When asked the question: "In your opinion, is it better for the peace of the world to have the Locarno treaties even with their armed guarantees than to have had no Locarno treaties at all?" Senator Borah replied:

Yes, I suppose so. In their present frame of mind certain countries probably would not have ratified these treaties if the armed guarantees had been eliminated. Nevertheless, I am convinced that security can never be achieved by defensive alliances. Certainly it would be supreme folly for the Government of the United States to bind itself to go to the armed assistance of any foreign power.

IT is of the utmost importance that the various nations should agree as to whether or not the use of armed force against the violator of a multilateral outlawry treaty by the other signatories should be called war. If such action is regarded as war then the proposed treaty does not delegatize all war. If such action is not war, what shall it be called? If the distinction between aggressive and defensive war is not sound, how shall we distinguish between the use of armed force by a violator of an outlawry treaty, on the one hand, and the use of armed force by the victims of that violation, on the other?

Let us now summarize this discussion. Armed self defense is permitted in the outlawry program and in the Covenant of the League. In both plans each nation decides for itself when a breach of the treaty has been committed and what measures it should adopt. The use of armed force against the violator of a multilateral outlawry treaty is called *war* by Senator Borah and Dr. Morrison and *defensive war* by the League adherents. Collective armed defense against a violator of a multilateral agreement is permitted in both programs. Neither plan proposes to delegatize all use of armed force by a nation. Both seek to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy, to delegatize war as a method of settling international disputes.

In response to a question as to the effect of a multilateral outlawry treaty upon the League of Nations, Senator Borah replied emphatically:

It would not interfere with the League at all. On the contrary, such an agreement would greatly strengthen the League. The prevailing war system is itself the greatest obstacle in the pathway of Geneva. With war delegatized between these great powers it would soon be possible to secure a universal treaty completely outlawing war as an instrument of policy in international affairs. Then, and only then, will the League be free to concentrate upon its constructive and beneficent functions. At present we have a network of treaties and understandings relative to peace—arbitration treaties, conciliation treaties, The Hague Tribunal, World Court, peace machinery of the League and peace machinery of Locarno. The effect of the Kellogg proposal is a solemn pledge to let all this peace machinery work. It is a solemn pledge to rely upon the peace machinery and not upon the war machinery. If we are to prevent war or reduce the chances of war, every means known, moral, educational, arbitral, legal, political, must be harnessed for the struggle.

It seems to me that there are two primary values in the kind of analysis here attempted. In the first place, it is a clear gain to realize that the differences between outlawry advocates and adherents of the League are not so great as is commonly supposed. Therefore, it ought not to be impossible to unite the peace forces of this country behind both outlawry and the League.

In the second place, attention must be called to a grave deficiency and weakness in the plans of both Kellogg and Briand. Neither lays the axe at the root of the war system. Neither proposes to delegatize all use of armaments by nations. Both schemes leave large loopholes for aggressive violence. Suppose nation A has aggressive designs against nation B. Assume that both are signatories to a multilateral outlawry treaty. What is to prevent A from deciding, as each signatory has a right to decide for itself, that it is the victim of a violation of the agreement by B, thereby recovering the legal right to use armed force against B? *As long as each nation reserves the right to use armed force in self defense and to decide for itself when it is acting in self defense, outlawry will be ineffective.* Ultimately this kind of question must be decided by the World Court of some other international tribunal.

In conclusion, I should like to make my own position clear. I believe that the outlawry of war is absolutely indispensable to its total abolition. I also believe that the League of Nations is essential to the preservation of world peace. I am convinced that the best way to make outlawry effective is for the United States to cooperate enthusiastically with the members of the League in outlawing war not merely as an instrument of national policy but in delegatizing every use of armaments by nations, and in building up international agencies through which all disputes among nations may be settled peaceably.

The Poster Road to Peace

ELIZABETH JEWETT EASTON

TRAVELING across the Caucasus Mountains, over the post road, is a pleasure never to be forgotten. First there are foothills, then mountains, then peaks that seem to reach to heaven. Forests give place to grassy slopes and they, in turn, to eternal snows. In the valleys are peoples who seem to step out of the pages of history. If there is a more picturesque place on God's earth it is unknown to me.

Years ago I crossed and recrossed that road with my missionary father. Now that he sleeps on the other side probably it will never be my privilege to do so again. Fortunately a bright new road has opened up to me—a new road right at hand.

This road is so delightful and leads to such wonderful possibilities I want to advertise it to those who have the same objective in view. It is not a military road like the one across the Caucasus. It is a road to peace. Your eye catches pictures of hill and dale, of fruits and flowers, birds and beasts, as well as pictures that tell a story of human interest. Your mind travels up above the clouds where there is nothing to impede vision.

Like the trip across the Caucasus this trip may be made in a short time but, unlike that trip, its costs are small though its joys are far greater. For the past seven years my trips on the poster road have been my greatest pleasure. Riding the poster hobby is a more wonderful recreation than riding behind the spirited horses on the post road.

Strange to say I started out making posters as an aid to memory. It is hard for me, and I find it hard also for others, to remember the wonderful facts given in peace literature. By making a chart or a poster of these truths I can help myself and others to retain truths of great moment.

For instance, a recent issue of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* contained a quotation from Sallust to the effect that it is not arms nor wealth but friends that protect a nation. Think what it would mean for that one truth to arrest the attention of this country! War posters did that; why should peace posters not do it?

Organizations with departments of peace cover the country and I am submitting a poster with this quotation on it to one of them.

Already the frontis of a *WORLD TOMORROW* has done service at a national convention. It was just the thing to illustrate the findings of a second Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. I read those findings and promptly forgot them until they were worked up into a poster with that frontis. The frontis

outlined the countries that are the center of danger and the findings showed how that danger could be overcome. The posters on the findings of the two Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War make the subject so plain a child could understand what wise men have failed to do.

A series of posters, also exhibited were originally made for children but such a field opened up for their use among young people that they were readapted so as to appeal to every age.

It is fun to watch the interest people take in this A. B. C. of Peace. The striking letters, pictures and wording arrest their attention. Once interested they stop and study poster after poster, ask questions and make remarks that show the facts have struck home.

The first question asked by the director of the Vacation School Institute, where they were first shown, was: "Where can we buy these posters?" It was necessary to inform him they were the only set of the kind in existence and were only finished the night before. He did not suspect they were the handwork of an amateur, done without conveniences in spare time between household duties. Another person wanted to know where the picture came from.

When the posters were held up and read at a prayer meeting a principal of a public school who was present remarked "There is a sermon in every one of them." The sermons were not of the kind disallowed in public schools. Made for World Good-Will Day the posters were in demand in high, grade, and reform schools until they closed for the summer. Then the young people's conventions took them up, one after another, so that they were in constant use till the schools opened again. There seems to be no trouble in finding an entrance for them anywhere.

Sardonics

ON Squirrel Street in Staten Island

A tailor ploughs wet cloth with irons
Whistling "Ach Du Lieber Augustin,"
Bows his polished crown and says "Yes, sir!"
"Ma'am!" to customers who do not smile responses—
With back bent double when he spreads the door.
Steam obfuscates all the window but the sign,
Strident in gold, announcing—"Karl Marx."

JOHN WALDHORN GASSNER.

The People's Fight for Power

HARRY W. LAIDLER

"The time is fully in sight when every household operation from heating and cooking to sweeping and sewing will be performed by the aid of electrical power; when every article on the average man's breakfast table—every item of his clothing—every piece of his furniture—every tool of his trade—that he himself did not produce, will have been manufactured or transported by electric power; when the home, the farm, and the factory will be electrically lighted, heated, and operated; when from morning to night, from the cradle to the grave, electric service will enter at every moment and from every direction into the daily life of every man, woman, and child in America. . . .

"Nothing like this gigantic monopoly has ever appeared in the history of the world. Nothing has ever been imagined before that even remotely approaches it in the thoroughgoing, intimate, unceasing control it may exercise over the daily life of every human being within the web of its wires. It is immeasurably the greatest industrial fact of our time. If uncontrolled, it will be a plague without previous example. If effectively controlled in the public interest it can be made incomparably the greatest material blessing in human history."

IN this striking fashion former Governor Gifford Pinchot summed up the situation a few years ago with regard to the electrical industry.

What was true then is increasingly true today. We are now entering upon the electrical age. The electrical industry has grown with tremendous strides during the past few years. In 1912 it produced less than twelve billion kilowatt hours of electricity. Today it generates over six times that amount—more than seventy billion kilowatt hours. As the industry has grown, its control has increasingly concentrated into the hands of a few great financial groups. The result is that today five groups—the Electric Bond and Share, The Northeastern, the Insull, the North American, and the Standard Gas and Electric—control nearly one-half of the electrical energy generated in this country. Twenty groups generate more than four-fifths of our energy.

In few fields do we find the holding companies playing as important a part in this concentration of control as in the electrical industry. An instance of the pyramiding of control resulting from the holding company device may be noted in the case of the Texas Power and Light Company. In the state of Texas this company owns and operates a large number of small and formerly independent companies. All of the common stock of the Texas Power and Light is owned by the Southwestern Power and Light, a holding company. All of the common stock of the Southwestern Power and Light is owned by the American Power and Light,

another holding company with large interests in Washington, Oregon, Kansas, Minnesota, Florida, Nebraska and Arizona. A controlling interest in the American Power and Light is owned by the Electric Bond and Share Company, which, in turn, is completely owned by the Electric Bond and Share Securities Corporation. Through this pyramiding of control it is possible for those at the top of the pyramid possessing a million dollars' worth of stock to control properties valued at many times that figure. In fact, "in one instance," writes the Federal Trade Commission, "less than a million-dollar investment in the majority of the voting stock of the apex holding company gave in 1925 full control of the entire organization of the group, having scores of underlying companies and several hundred million dollars of investment."

Such concentration of control has brought with it large and increasing profits to those on the inside. In the period 1922 to 1926 the net profits of the industry have increased over a quarter of a billion of dollars, from \$338,400,000 to \$587,400,000, according to the figures of the National Electric Light Association.

STATE regulating commissions have stepped in to prevent undue exploitation of the consumer. But these commissions have been ill equipped for effective work. They have had practically no power over holding companies. They have been lost in a maze of statistics regarding the value of electrical companies for rate-making purposes. They have accepted for the most part a rate basis—that of the hypothetical cost of reproducing an electrical plant—that provides little or no protection to the domestic consumer. The result is that the domestic consumer still pays an average of between seven and eight cents per kilowatt hour for his electricity, as compared with about one-fourth that amount in the neighboring Province of Ontario.

So unsatisfactory, in fact, has the situation become in numerous parts of the continent of America that the people have definitely decided to take this important utility into their own hands. The most conspicuous example of such public control is found in the neighboring province of Ontario. In 1906, some twenty-odd years ago, the people of Ontario created a Hydro-Electric Power Commission with power to go into the electrical industry. Four years later the Commission started business on a small scale. Today it owns numerous great generating plants along the Canadian border and is cooperating with 380 municipalities in the province to supply the people with electricity at

cost. From charges ranging from 7 cents to 25 cents per kilowatt hour under private ownership, the price was reduced until in 1926 the average price for domestic consumers throughout the province was 1.81 cents. In Toronto, 90 miles from Niagara Falls, the charge is 1.7 cents; in Hamilton, 1.6 cents; in Ottawa, 1 cent. And this charge pays not only for the current expenses, but also for the gradual amortizing of the bonds, which will be paid off in a forty year period. The electrical industry in the United States has, of late years, been bitterly attacking this experiment and continually misrepresenting its achievements.

The leaders of the industry have been claiming that the "Hydro" Commission pays no taxes, and that this fact accounts for the difference in electrical rates. The "Hydro" responds that it pays several hundred thousands a year in taxes, that it pays higher prices for its electrical equipment from the United States on account of the tariff than does the industry on this side of the border; that it obtains its street lighting at cost, and that the low price charged, as was formerly pointed out, is gradually reducing the bonded indebtedness of the Commission.

The electrical industry claims that the Ontario cities make a space or meter charge in addition to its flat rate. This also the "Hydro" claims is false. The average rate of 1.81 cents includes all charges.

The electrical industry maintains that the province makes industrial power customers pay for the low rates given to householders. If that were true, reply students of the Ontario situation, those cities charging low rates to householders and obtaining little revenue from power consumers would be running their plants at a deficit. But what is the situation? Take Ottawa. This is a city of 120,000 people. It charges the extremely low rate of 1 cent per kilowatt hour to its domestic consumers, thus making possible a wide use of electricity for lighting, heating, cooking, sweeping, washing and ironing. It has but few industries and receives but \$52,000 from industrial power consumers. All of the rest of the income is received from domestic and commercial lighting consumers. Yet with that income it is able to meet all expenses, put aside \$19,000 for capital charges, and, in addition, show an annual surplus of \$47,000. If it received nothing from power consumers, it still would be able to charge one cent per kilowatt hour to domestic consumers and come off with a profit. But space does not permit further discussion of this significant and growing experiment.

IN our own country Los Angeles, Seattle, Cleveland, Springfield, Ill., and other cities have gone into the electrical industry and have met with distinct success. In Los Angeles the electrical rates have steadily declined under public ownership, and the charge is now five cents per kilowatt hour for domestic lighting and

two cents for a combination heating, cooking and lighting rate. The city is gradually paying for its plant and for the year ending June 30, 1927, the municipal plant had surplus earnings of approximately \$3,250,000. The people of the city have saved somewhere in the neighborhood of \$20,000,000 in rates during the last few years.

The situation in Seattle is similar. Under municipal operation the rates have been reduced from 12.5 cents to an average of 3.28 cents.

These experiments indicate some of the advantages of public over private ownership in the electrical industry. Under public ownership bonds can be issued at a lower rate of interest. The people are not under the constant necessity of paying high dividends to absentee owners. Capital charges are likely to decrease, rather than increase, as the years advance. Running expenses are lower. Hundred thousand dollar salaries disappear. Public ownership, as Professor Dykstra points out, means "simplicity of organization, elimination of stockselling propaganda and minimizing of general propaganda. This in turn means greater effectiveness of organizations with lower costs of construction and operation, and because of the public credit, less cost of money."

Public ownership likewise rids the country of the corrupting influence of great predatory interests. Every city, state and federal legislature today feels the pressure of the power lobby. Early this year it organized what Senator Walsh characterized as the greatest lobby ever organized in Washington. It hired a suite of rooms in a Washington hotel and from there operated to reach the press and the legislature with its propaganda. The memory of the contributions of over \$200,000 of Mr. Insull to the senatorial campaign of the former chairman of the Illinois Public Service Commission as well as the campaign of his opponents is still green. In 1922 the interests on the Pacific Coast acknowledged the expenditure of over a half million dollars to defeat the Water and Power Act of that state. There are few hamlets in the United States which are immune from its influence.

We have given away most of our resources to the private electrical interests. But we still have a chance to come back. The present battle is being waged over the St. Lawrence, Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam projects. The state should build its own hydro-electric plant on the St. Lawrence, utilize the 1,200,000 horsepower there going to waste, build its own transmission lines and then give preference in the sale of electrical energy to municipal plants within its area. The nation should retain control of the dams and the hydro-electric plants at Muscle Shoals, should develop, under Federal control, the great power resources on the Tennessee River and should do its best to see that the ultimate consumer obtains the benefit of this unique

public enterprise. The nation should likewise build the Boulder Dam, construct hydro-electric plants along the course of the Colorado River and give preference in the distribution of electricity to public bodies.

The citizens of the cities should also study their local situation and should begin campaigns for the municipal distribution of electrical energy to themselves at cost. Stricter regulation of public utilities should be demanded all along the line. Particularly should rates be based on prudent investment rather than on a series of guesses as to what might be the cost of reproducing a plant years after it is built. And finally a plan should be worked out for the unification of the industry under a federal non-profit corporation, with adequate representation to consumer, worker and technician.

IN this coming Presidential campaign practically every Republican who has a look-in at the Presidential nomination is definitely committed to the continuance of private control of the industry. Mr. Hoover, one of the most prominent of these candidates, is, it is true, opposed to the waste and chaos existing in the industry and dreams of a time when we shall have a wondrous system of interconnected transmission lines, extending from East to West, from North to South, but he depends on the industry itself to correct the abuses found under private ownership and is constitutionally opposed to further community control over our vital industries—the Boulder Dam experiment being a notable exception to this rule. Such Progressive Republican Senators as Norris and Nye, who favor the extension of public ownership, have, of course, not a ghost of a show for the nomination.

The stand that will be taken in the campaign this year by the Democratic party is difficult to say. Conservative Democrats joined with Republicans in warding off a senatorial investigation into the electrical industry and, outside of Senator Walsh, few have taken an interest in the problem.

Governor Smith has urged that the state of New York build a generating plant on the St. Lawrence and sell electricity at wholesale to the private distributing plants, to be sold by these plants to the ultimate consumer. Whether the ultimate consumer will gain anything from this process it is difficult to tell. Some years ago the city of San Francisco built a great generating plant at Hetch-Hetchy. After it was completed at a cost of many millions of dollars to the people, the city then proceeded to sell electricity to the private corporations at a rate so low that it did not even cover the capital charges on the money borrowed. The local companies supplying electricity to the consumers continued to charge all the traffic would bear and the law would allow. The people of this Pacific Coast city are now urging that San Francisco acquire a distribu-

tion plant of its own so that it might obtain maximum advantage from the generating plant.

Only the Socialists are enthusiastic for both public generation of electrical energy and municipal distribution. They as a matter of course urge public development on the St. Lawrence, at Muscle Shoals, and at Boulder Dam, but they see the only final solution in a policy of nation-wide unification of our electrical resources and the gradual transfer of this industry from a private to a community basis, from a basis of production for profit to one of production for use.

The question before the American people is: Shall this mighty and growing industry be our master or our slave? Make it the servant of all the people and it will bring untold blessings to us and our posterity.

Caryatides

THEY carry every road we ride;
They bear the weight of every rail
Like corbels of the ditch's side:
Across their bended backs we glide—
Their bended backs that never fail.

Toil's homely Caryatides,
They bow unseen beneath each road.
Forever we ride over these:
The iron wheels beneath our ease
Forever are their thunder-load.

For they have built, and they sustain;
They hold on steadfast shoulders still
The motor car . . . the railroad train . . .
Our flying power is their pain;
Our careless ease their patient skill.

All the world's anguish and its awe . . .
Life's strange monotony and shock . . .
The lawless burden of earth's law . . .
The Purgatory Dante saw . . .
They know—these corbels not of rock.

The minute widened to the mile
Is ours who glide along the rail;
But theirs it is to tamp meanwhile,
To trench and pound, to wrench and pile,
To lift us up the hills we scale.

O you who speed on flying wheels,
How easy seems your careless ease!
You never fathom how it feels
To be the backs beneath your wheels—
Earth's human Caryatides.

E. MERRILL ROOT.

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

Negroes to Contribute to Encyclopaedia

Two Negroes have been asked to contribute to the new Encyclopaedia Britannica. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois will write on the literature of the Negro; James Weldon Johnson on Negro music.

Virginia Adopts Anti-lynching Bill

The Virginia senate in February passed the anti-lynching bill recommended by Governor Byrd. Under the bill, lynching is made a state offense to be prosecuted by the Attorney General and others designated by the Governor in addition to local authorities. The bill provides that the county and city where the lynching occurs be required to pay \$2,500 to the family of the person lynched.

1927 Lynchings

A decrease in lynchings from 34 in 1926 to 21 in 1927 is reported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mississippi leads with seven victims, Tennessee and Arkansas each have a record of three, Florida two, and the following states each had one: Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, North Carolina, Texas, and California. The National Association differs from Tuskegee by including as lynchings the beating to death by prisoners in a Los Angeles jail of a white man resembling the kidnapper, William Hickman; the shooting to death by a posse of Joseph Upchurch in Paris, Tennessee; and the shooting by a posse of Thomas Bradshaw near Bailey, North Carolina. There were 42 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, 8 of which were in Northern states and 34 in Southern states. In 24 cases the prisoners were removed or guards augmented or other precautions taken. In 17 other instances armed force was used to repel the would-be lynchers, 68 persons, 15 white and 53 Negroes, were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

In Pennsylvania and Ohio

While the Senate committee is struggling valiantly with its coal investigation there is great need in the bituminous coal fields for relief. In many mining camps actual famine now exists. Children go hungry from day to day. In Ohio children have fainted in school because of under-nourishment. Sickness in the barracks is increasing. More evictions are taking place. Send your checks and clothing to The Pennsylvania Ohio Miners' Relief Committee, 611 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Cooperatives

The growth of cooperation in all parts of the world continues to be recorded in the reports which are constantly sent to the headquarters of the British cooperative movement. Finland shows that the number of consumers societies increased from 87 in 1918 to 113 in 1926; the membership of these societies from 95,216 to 208,501. Every year the Hungarian cooperative movement is able to record new spheres of activity. The growers of fruit and vegetables have had great difficulty in finding a market, and large quantities had to be literally wasted, but cooperation has come to their aid and remedied this state of affairs.

Cooperative credit societies are saving the natives of India from the money lenders. The money lenders of India belong to the Bania or the small shopkeeper class. These usurers charge 25 per cent on all loans, which is gladly paid by large numbers of Indians. The interest charged by the credit societies is 8 3/8 per cent as compared with 10 to 11 per cent by the ordinary banks.

Famine in China Worst in Years

In two provinces of China, Shantung and Chihli, it is estimated that at least nine million persons are wholly without the means of livelihood, as a result of failure of the crops. In twenty-two counties the houses have been torn down for fuel and hundreds of thousands have been feeding on roots, dried grass and the bark from trees, so that a vast area is now entirely denuded of anything that would support life.

Mexico—Both Sides

Early in February the Inter-American Institute and the Pacific Southwest Academy of Social Science met in California to discuss Mexico. Speakers from Mexico included a director of public education for the state of Monterey, a professor of the law department of the National University of Mexico and a young patriot who also is an alumnus of the University of Texas. Speakers for the United States were a professor of Latin-American history of the University of Texas, a professor of history and a professor of geography from the University of California. Other such meetings are scheduled for the spring and summer.

College Students and the League

Early in May twenty colleges, with students representing forty-nine countries, will send delegates to a model assembly of the League of Nations, which will be held at Cornell University. The program will be similar to that conducted by the League Assembly at Geneva. The purpose is to promote friendly relations between students of various nationalities attending American universities, as well as give a practical demonstration of the purposes and aims of the league.

The Yellow Peril?

Two wealthy Chinese living in Mexico have notified the Mexican government of their desire that their immense lands be divided into a thousand farms and turned over to the poor Mexican peons, under expert government advice and assistance. The ranches are said to be ideally located. The two Chinese have retained small portions for themselves, with the understanding that the donated lands must be carefully worked and improved or revert to them again.

Opposing Cooperatives

Early in the year a "gigantic federation" to fight farmers' cooperative movements and oppose legislation favoring producers was launched by members of the agricultural trades under the name of the Federated Agricultural Trades of America. 175 delegates from the fruit, vegetable, dairy and produce exchanges of New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Seattle and many other trade organizations started this organization. This is the first attempt of the middlemen to get together to protect their interests against the cooperative movement, and to see that no special favors are granted the cooperatives by the Government.

In the past the issue between cooperatives and middlemen has been confined to localities; the fight is now to be waged on a national scale, since many cooperatives have grown to a larger size and the movement has spread over the country.

Recent Gains in Industrial Relations

MARY VAN KLEECK

NOTHING is more relative than a "gain" in industrial relations, unless it be "progress" in civilization. Hence the difficulty of defining the subject of this article. The idea of moving forward which has dominated much history-writing implies a straight line from a point to a point. The point to be reached is often located where the observer imagines himself and his group to stand in the most strategic position for his own interests with a new world revolving around himself as a center. Points and goals and directions of motion must therefore differ for different individuals; but the observer, like a philosopher in the Ptolemaic universe, is likely to believe that the position of the fixed point is not debatable.

"Bankers see good in unemployment," says the headlines in this morning's *New York Times*. "Predict readjustment of high wages and rents and also of ways of living; labor to return to farm." And in the text of the statement quoted as issued by a banking firm in a southern city, these conclusions are drawn: "The shadow of unemployment will reduce rents, restore labor to sanity, cut the cost of living, rectify the evils of instalment selling, encourage thrift. . . . Gross earnings cannot expand indefinitely. Net must in the future be acquired through the reduction of overhead. Labor must become less obdurate and the farm must again absorb the surplus unemployed labor of the city. . . . The day of the white heat of industry is past. The economies of commerce demand a rectification and an accounting. Unemployment is thus the natural result." To these bankers, gains in industrial relations would embrace increasing docility on the part of labor, lowered wages and thrift to make them possible, so that overhead may be reduced and net earnings increased. Possibly recent advances in the prices of stocks on the stock exchange may be one of the elements pressing for an increase in net earnings.

WHAT labor sees in unemployment needs no demonstration. For the wage-earner involuntary idleness is always a personal misfortune, and for the labor unions unemployment means loss of power in the conflict over the returns of industry which is ever implicit in industrial relations; labor out of work is labor defeated in that contest temporarily, at least, for the man out of work is getting no share in the industrial product. To wage-earners gains in industrial relations mean higher wages, elimination of unemployment and

a chance to bargain successfully for the retention of these conditions.

Retail merchants and producers of consumers' goods have been talking lately about the difficulties of "Business without a Buyer" and they are coming to agree with labor. Markets are to be extended by increasing the capacity of labor to buy. In the same refrain, two engineers from the troubled British Isles in the recent piping times of good business in the United States reported back home that the secret of prosperity here lay in the buying power of wage-earners through high wages, which has created a large home market. To these merchants and servers of the ultimate consumer at home and to the foreigners asking how it is done, gains in industrial relations would be found in the extension of the market through high and steady wages.

SHALL we then set up a definition of "gains" from some one point of view and pick out recent events which meet the definition, ignoring those who disagree and recognizing that the definition of today may not satisfy even ourselves tomorrow? Or shall we accept as a starting point the relativity of industrial relations? We would then rule out static measures of general conditions—the average wage, the extent of employment or unemployment. We would expect to discover gains in shifting relationships which would be tested in their results. We would find the possibilities of progress in the attitudes of mind and the procedures which create modes of conduct. We would test the modes of conduct by their adaptability to the rational adjustment of conflicting interests, and by their function in working toward a fairly sensible goal for a particular industrial activity in a given situation. We would set down as a gain real procedures and actual conduct which have adjusted conflicts, answered problems and achieved defined results in economic activity.

A year ago, Robert W. Bruère, writing on "Where Violence Has Not Occurred" in a series on Industrial Conflict in *THE WORLD TOMORROW* (March, 1927), said that "industrial relations, if they are to be at once dynamic and secure against violence, must be evolved out of the requirements of the production process—the focus of the common interest of managers, workers, and the consuming public." The significance of that phrase, "requirements of the production process," is being discovered by Mr. Bruère in his continuing studies of various shops. Nowhere else could it be found except in a real shop, in a real industry, in a real community, with given personalities, as man-

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ager, foremen and wage-earners. In directing attention to "the requirements of the production process" as "the focus of the common interest of managers, workers, and the consuming public," he has given us illumination on where to look for gains in industrial relations.

In accepting this definition we omit many interesting developments in the labor movement on the one hand and in the policies and practices of business on the other. Labor banks, co-operative enterprises and adventures in housing might all be classed as gains, yielding more insight for labor into economic processes and increasing power through definite control of such institutions in the interest of the trade unions participating in them. Management on the other hand is developing new skill and understanding in human relations through personnel procedure, training and selection of employes and intelligent changes in working conditions to enable the workman to do his work better. These developments, quite familiar to everyone by this time, are ignored in this article, which is focused rather upon incidents involving some change in the functional relationship of wage-earners to management.

I

LABOR in Passaic, New Jersey, carpenters and joiners, plumbers and steamfitters, electrical workers, painters and textile workers, came together a few weeks ago to discuss unemployment, under the auspices of the Passaic Trades and Labor Council, the Building Trades Council and the Workers' Education Bureau of America. Passaic is a troubled place. Memories of past strikes, wage cuts, lockouts, clashes with police, and arrests of "agitators" have embittered everybody having any relation to its industrial activities. Long months of unemployment have made great suffering not only for the textile workers but for the small shopkeepers and for all the other trades. Yet Passaic has skilled employes and a tradition of early craftsmanship brought to this country by a group of Germans, including managers and owners of mills and their expert workmen. How has the industry lost the possibilities of the co-operative spirit which grows out of utilizing and recognizing skilled craftsmanship? How have the mills departed so far from the "focus of common interest" which might have united managers, workers and the consuming public through the skill of the workers and managers in meeting "the requirements of the production process"? How this has come about would be an interesting historical study.

The more immediate question now is whether the week-end conference called by the workers can be translated into a new approach to the problems in the mills. All groups in the city came together in the conference, hesitatingly at first, fearing, as one of the managers expressed it, that there would be only "talk" and that

"town meetings do not solve industrial problems." But finally personnel officers and consulting engineers of the more important mills, the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, and the mayor joined with the representatives of the labor unions and with students of industrial problems in discussing unemployment in Passaic, the problem of unemployment as it is seen by labor, by industry, by government and by the local community.

As the first result, Passaic has now in process of organization by the mayor a Commission on Industrial Relations, composed of representatives of labor, employers and the public. The Commission is to study labor on the one side and the businesses of Passaic on the other, to the end that the business of the community may be made more secure. Because the Chamber of Commerce has learned that the prosperity of the town depends in large part upon the goodwill and co-operation of labor, the Passaic Trades and Labor Council has already been asked to name a representative upon that committee of the Chamber which seeks to attract new industries to the town. Plants are under way to engage investigators to work under the joint auspices of the Commission and to study Passaic's common industrial problems.

The results of the conference were not limited to action within the community, however. The president of the United Textile Workers of America (the trade union of the textile industry affiliated with the American Federation of Labor) proposed "to the textile industry of the city of Passaic and through them to the entire textile industry in America, that a joint research committee be appointed on which both management and labor are equally represented" and that such a joint committee, through specific agreement, should employ research assistance "to ascertain the facts and devise methods for the security of employment and the stabilization of industry and for the study of such other matters as arise out of the consideration of this great problem." As evidence of good faith, he pledged \$1,000 as the initial contribution of the union to such a study.

Whether such a joint committee will be formed remains to be seen. A representative of the owners of one of the most important mills, hearing in advance of the conference that this proposal was to be made by the union, was at once interested. "The president of the union might well dare us to keep out of such a plan. We couldn't," was his comment. The assets already available for joint research should tempt at least a trial. These are (1) the expressed desire of labor to co-operate not only in a study but in what might grow out of a study; (2) the formation of agencies within the industry recently, such as the Wool Institute, which look upon research as one of their functions; (3) governmental bureaus having data on

textiles; and (4) impartial agencies devoted to social research in the public interest, all of which might have a legitimate part to play in attacking a problem which affects the whole nation and reaches beyond national boundaries. To have such a study made under the joint auspices of labor and employers should insure that action would be taken upon the data as gathered. In short, this proposal for research is a proposal to gather facts in such a way as to influence conduct.

The holding of the conference, the methods developed and the actual participation of diverse groups are already facts which can be counted as gains. The proposals for what may follow are only potential gains. Will they be made actual? Possibly not now, though the outlook is hopeful; but it is an idea, and its day must come.

II

HOW scientific management can contribute to the ends which labor in Passaic has sought—security of employment with fair wages—is demonstrated in a textile business in the North and the South. A New England manufacturer with a keen interest and technical skill in scientific management found himself with an insolvent shoddy mill on his hands some twenty-five years ago. He was responsible for trying to save the stockholders' interests. In his printing business he had set up the procedures of scientific management and won the co-operation of the organized craft unions in these policies and practices. He conceived the idea of developing a cotton manufacturing business by the introduction of scientific management into sales, production and finance, despite the fact that he faced in the textile industry a business tenacious of its habits and without radical change for the previous fifty years. Today he has five cotton mills in the South and two plants for finishing and marketing in New England, and the business as a whole is prosperous and has expanded during the past five years of severe depression elsewhere in the same industry.

How? The man responsible for this development summed it up in these words for the Third International Management Congress, held in Rome, Italy, last September: "This prosperity has not been achieved through a lowering of manufacturing costs by depressing labor below proper standards of living; it has been achieved by paying wages above the market and securing economies through waste-eliminating methods of management. The management believes that good wages and low costs are not incompatible, and it has maintained a corresponding policy. The management believes also that with increasing opportunity in industry there is increasing responsibility. While not unmindful of the importance of the stability that is coupled with material success, their interest is quite as much in producing better citizens as in securing

profits." In the absence of craft organizations in textiles, there are no trade union agreements as in other businesses of the same management, but citizenship and self-government has been the policy in the development of the mill villages. Underlying these policies of industrial relations are the principles of scientific management which have been here applied: "(1) continuing research, investigation and experiment as the basis for every determination of policy and procedure in management; (2) the establishment of standards of policy and procedure—best known ways subject to evolution as better known ways are discovered—revealed by the investigations and experiments; and (3) a system of planning and control of operations in terms of standards as established."

III

AT the same International Management Congress in Rome in 1927 a paper was presented on "Master Planks in the American Industrial Program." These have grown out of the experience of the same management engineers who have been applying to the industries in this country the principles just enumerated as underlying the creation of a successful textile business in the midst of depression in the industry. The master planks were these, defined as the aims of scientific management in the United States: "(1) to raise living standards still higher by increasing the real income of all engaged in industry through progressive improvements and the cheapening of industrial processes; (2) to raise the high level of American wages still higher, with increases in output per worker; (3) to inspire both managers and workers to collaborate in order to improve the technique of production and distribution; (4) to keep men and machinery fully occupied."

Nor are we lacking in an agency concerned in putting these ideas into effect. The Taylor Society, "an international society to promote the science and the art of administration and of management," with offices in New York, is the organization which made possible the presentation of these two experiences just cited to European engineers; and its members in the United States are at work applying these principles and procedures to the problems of American workshops.

IV

A CLOTHING factory in Chicago has run the gamut in some twenty years from a shop controlled by a boss contractor in the old days of exploitation of the clothing workers by the contractor who made his profits by forcing down wages; through a bitter strike in which thousands of wage-earners suffered and the community's sympathies and antagonisms were alike aroused; through gradually evolving machinery of human relationships with new agencies

of day-to-day adjustment of difficulties and joint participation in these agencies by employers and wage-earners; through the application of all of these ideas and procedures to other plants in Chicago and to the clothing markets in other cities; and finally the latest development in the virtual responsibility for three-fourths of the production work of the shop by the union itself. The boss of twenty years ago, working only in his own interest and exploiting one by one the workers who sought employment, has given place to a self-directing union which has shown itself capable of managing production. Except for one abnormal year in the war period, the past year under this experiment has been the most successful in the history of the company, with both the wages of labor and the profits of the employer higher than ever before.

V

FOLLOWING a bitter strike in the repair shops of the railroads, the unions involved and the president of one important company agreed to abandon conflict over wage rates and restriction of output and to work for the common end of eliminating waste, making employment secure and insuring adequate wages and reasonable profits. To this end they set up a plan based on a definite agreement, to which the union representing the workers was a party. To fulfil its responsibilities, the union secured its own expert service in the work of an engineer; and through the four or five years since the plan went into effect, energy which once went into wasteful disputes has been expended in efforts to produce more satisfactorily. Once again is borne out the idea that in a given situation in a real shop it is possible to find in production, with the skill which labor can contribute and the science which management can bring to bear, a focus of common interest for managers, workers and consumers. Every practical demonstration of the procedures through which such an idea is expressed is a gain by the definition here given.

NO one of these situations can be called permanent. In a sense, they are incidents. They are gains in industrial relations because they represent procedures and modes of conduct shown to be more or less successful in attaining a common end; the end is to bring together into working relationships the human beings who must participate in the production of goods and services in economic life.

If there be generalizations to be gathered out of these incidents, they are these: (1) Scientific management has actually developed principles and procedures which would modify conduct and give constructive outlet for energies and skills by giving each its place in the functional organization of business. (2) Social research is developing methods and procedures which

make it possible to study the problems of human relations with the objectivity of the scientific spirit and to give a basis for adjustment of conflicting interests.

(3) The trade unions are taking cognizance of the importance of the science of management and are seeking to utilize the methods of social research. They are discovering the good results of co-operation in production. Thus they are meeting managers of industry halfway in their efforts to apply science to business.

(4) International organizations are beginning to develop for joint study and conference which may eliminate artificial national boundaries in approaching world-wide problems of industrial relations. Organizations which now offer these opportunities are the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations, with its research, its conferences and its setting up of formulas in recommended labor legislation after agreement by representatives of employers, labor and the government in all the member countries; the International Congress of Scientific Management, which brings together for conference those interested in the application of scientific management throughout the world; and the International Association for the Study and Improvement of Human Relations and Conditions in Industry, which includes in its membership representatives of labor and employers, personnel and welfare workers, engineers and social investigators, who through congresses and summer schools seek as a group representing different factors in industry to think together and to become conscious of the fundamentals of their relationships.

It is this International Association for Human Relations in Industry which is giving a human objective to the scientific approach to industry and bringing to bear upon it the ideas of many nations. "Science in itself can never ameliorate man's condition or add to life's happiness," wrote one of its officers in the introduction to the report of a summer school on elimination of unnecessary fatigue in industry, held in Italy in June, 1927. "With all the knowledge available, we may still find man and production confronting each other with interests opposed, unless the desire for gain be replaced by one for service and for that harmonious co-operation which is the hallmark of human progress." That men and women from 26 different countries of the world should be united in an association with such a conception is in itself a gain in industrial relations. In claiming it for ourselves in American civilization, we do but recognize our need of the thought and vision of other countries. Out of the wisdom of Europe and the Orient may come for us a clearer vision of the human task of world-wide significance set before these United States by an industrial and economic development which stands in need of searching criticism from the social philosophers of all countries.

How Long Should a Peace Society Live?

DEVERE ALLEN

IT is written in the book of fate that organizations, as well as individuals, are born to grow, flourish, and die. Before their demise they often undergo a period of senile reminiscence during which they fondly recall past valor.

Was there ever a better example of decline to ruminant old age than the American Peace Society, whose centennial is to be celebrated at Cleveland beginning on the eighth of May? Your answer will depend on your knowledge, or lack of it, concerning the past career of this once vigorous organization.

If you take official statements at face value, the policy of this society, nobly rounding out a hundred years of devoted service to the cause of peace, is "the same today as it was a century ago, when it made its first claim upon every loyal American citizen." What is that policy—the policy of today?

It strives to work with our Government and to protect the principles at the basis of our institutions.

In our ungoverned world of wholly independent national units, it stands for adequate national defense.

It believes that the rational way to disarmament is to begin by disarming policies.

What are those "disarming policies"? As adopted on November 30, 1925, a list of projects is printed in each issue of *The Advocate of Peace*, following an affirmation of "abiding faith in the precepts of its illustrious founders." Besides an expression of approval regarding what has been already accomplished by the nations toward peace, this list embodies the following: direct negotiations, or diplomacy; good offices of neutral countries in disputes; mediation, commissions of inquiry, conciliation, arbitration; recurring periodic conferences for the progressive codification of international law; adherence of all States to "a" Permanent Court of International Justice. And that is all; in short, the program of the American Peace Society at best is the continuation of peace processes already in existence. In greater or less degree, these processes have resulted in some slight good; but although many have been tried for decades they have not prevented new wars during the last century at the rate of one every two years.

In addition to a constant emphasis on its "loyalty" and "patriotism" and its belief in "adequate national defense," the American Peace Society of today is conspicuous among the peace organizations for its rubber-stamping of official government policies; for its alliance with military spokesmen, who have written articles praising it highly; and for its steady flow of sneers, unaccompanied by justifying facts, at peace groups

which are more thoroughgoing in their character.

Like most of the old, established peace societies, the A. P. S. gave its unquestioning support to our entry into the World War, and devoted loyal service to the task of showing how irrational were all opponents to that course. Heavily subsidized by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, it, too, labored for "peace through victory." Though the more well-to-do body went further, in turning its offices over to the infamous propaganda factory known as the Committee of Public Information, the A. P. S. contributed "enlightenment" on the purity of the Allies' war aims and the prospects of a vanishing militarism as the result of military success. And when the War was three years over, it proudly announced that it had "stood by the United States Government in all its wars of over a century." (*Advocate of Peace*, December, 1921).

In its latter days the American Peace Society has been not a voice but an echo. Its conception of the greatest peace society is our Department of State (*Advocate of Peace*, February, 1928). Its view of more radical anti-war organizations is hopefully expressed as follows (*Advocate of Peace*, March, 1928):

We poor peace workers need the best help of the best minds.

Those of us with the Jehovah complex, even, can be brought to listen and learn. Bootleg Pacifists, with what is called their "grandiose garrulity," can be brought to realize that their goal of absolutes, if a thing to be striven for, can never be attained.

THE first peace society organized in the world was founded in New York City in the summer of 1815. Shortly after, another was formed in Ohio. The last few days of that year saw the birth of a third, the most active, launched in the study of William Ellery Channing under the leadership of the Rev. Noah Worcester, a Congregational minister.

The prime mover of that first group, in New York, was David Low Dodge—merchant, devout Presbyterian, and direct-line ancestor of the late Grace and Cleveland H. Dodge. He was a pietistic non-resistant, radical in his peace ideas and method of approach. It was in his home that the American Peace Society was organized in 1828, the new movement federating some three dozen local societies. He remained a leading Director of the new movement until his death in 1852.

The active spirit in this important amalgamation was William Ladd, Harvard graduate, ex-sea captain, humanitarian, and, eventually, a Baptist clergyman. Ladd marvellously overcame difficulties of transporta-

tion and even greater problems of differing views, and kept alive a fellowship of many shades of opinion, its first serious rift occurring not until five years after his death, which took place in 1841. To the American Peace Society he gave sacrificially in money and in personal effort, sparing himself little, not even when suffering from serious illness.

Ladd was not a pacifist in the beginning, and, as he said regretfully later, argued strongly against such a radical point of view. Even in those days, however, he retained merely a belief in "strictly defensive" war and by his tolerant spirit maintained cordial relations with most of the many who went further in their thinking.

Soon, however, he found he could no longer hold what he came to consider an untenable half-way position. Openly he stated his arrival at what would be called today Tolstoyan pacifism, and ever after remained a radical pacifist. So far was he from believing in "adequate national defense" that he strenuously opposed the militia musters of his time, and of course could sanction no use of armed forces whatsoever. His most original contribution to thought on a Congress of Nations was his insistence that it contain no threat of force or means of enforcing its decrees by the sanctions of organized violence.

Yet in the State of Maine a celebration is to be held this May in his honor by a populace which would look askance at his principles were he alive, and would do so even as it is, had not his radicalism been obscured by the conservative peace spokesmen who in our times assert that they are true to the ideals of the founder! And at Cleveland Ladd's great contribution to the ideal of a Congress of Nations will be stressed, while his radical pacifism, which he thought not essential to faith in such a Congress but which he also stated with unequivocal reiteration, will assuredly be neglected (judging by the past decade) if it is not even denied.

Nor was all of the radicalism in the early A. P. S. confined to Dodge and Ladd. Noah Worcester, while believing always in "defensive" war, declared that when he heard of such a war, and also one conducted "on Christian principles," that would be the only kind he could support. It is worth noting that his society inquired into the causes of 286 wars—all the major conflicts since Constantine—and could report none which they deemed truly defensive.

Samuel E. Coues, the well-known Portsmouth preacher; Elihu Burritt, "the learned blacksmith" and world figure through many activities, not least of them his important international peace conferences; Thomas S. Grimké, a famous son of South Carolina; Amasa Walker, Massachusetts legislator and intimate friend of Burritt—these and many others were radical pacifists, Burritt openly opposing the Civil War as a poor alternative to his project of "compensated emancipa-

tion," and suffering the usual epithets of "disloyal" and "pro-South."

In 1837 the A. P. S. constitution was revised, with Ladd's approval, to make its opposition to *all* war, offensive or defensive, unmistakable. When conservatives sought to go back to the old basis in 1846, Coues as president, Burritt as editor of the Society's journal, and half a dozen other prominent leaders resigned in a body and stayed out for many years, some of them forever.

The Society boldly opposed the Mexican War (despite the recent statement about standing by the Government in all of our wars), even offering a prize, while the war was on, for the best analysis of it from the Christian point of view as soon as it should end. The prize-winning essay, by Abiel Abbot Livermore, is as outspoken as anything ever said by a modern war dissenter.

In the Civil War, however, caught by the terrific pressure of conflicting ideals and led by George C. Beckwith, a man devoted to the movement but always of a more temporizing nature than Ladd, the American Peace Society not only zestfully supported the war but blackguarded (I use the term because it is accurate) the pacifist opposition with innuendo, misrepresentation, and arguments so specious as to be found in few other places except in the literature of pro-war liberalism from early 1917 to the Armistice.

In the Spanish-American War the Society's *Advocate of Peace* spoke weakly but with fairly consistent frankness against the war and the subsequent campaign in the Philippines. It never fully recovered, however, from the schism in the ranks caused by the crisis of 1861; and much of the advanced work for peace between the Civil War and the War with Spain was conducted by the Universal Peace Union, a radical pacifist body formed in 1866 by Alfred H. Love, of Philadelphia, directly as a protest against the American Peace Society's jingoism, anti-feminism, and general narrow-mindedness.

Even in the first days of the Civil War, however, the Society (less biased on the whole than was Beckwith) heard with patience its own pacifist minority. The lowest point in the century's decline was doubtless reached in an incident not wholly devoid of amusement for its astonishing contrast to an earlier internal dilemma. In the *Advocate of Peace* of November, 1927, appeared the following paragraph:

In planning for the Centennial Celebration of the American Peace Society the managers are already confronted with a number of difficult problems. One is how far should "Radicals" be invited to participate in the conference? Such a conference should be, not so much a display of half-baked opinions as a historical and scientific exposition of international friendliness and co-operation. We have already asked a few of our more intimate counsellors for advice in this particular. We hereby ask for an expression of views from every quarter.

The contrast is to be found in the fact that William Ladd wrote in the Society's magazine, *The Calumet*, certain revealing editorial comments in 1833, one of which ran as follows:

The majority of those who conduct the affairs of the American Peace Society are decidedly opposed to all war, offensive and defensive; and they think that the spirit of war is totally inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel.

With such a majority in control at that time, the Society's leaders were faced with an issue similar to that which has been perplexing it in recent months. Then, however, the situation was exactly the reverse. A temporary editor had printed, without comment, an article by President Allen of Bowdoin upholding defensive war. In answer to resulting protests and his own stirred conscience, Ladd took over the editorial reins again and promptly wrote:

Although I am myself opposed to all war in every form, as utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, I am willing that sincere friends of Peace, who do not yet see their way clear to take that high ground, should have liberty to state their objections to it in candor—for how else can these objections be met? Truth should never fear a candid discussion, especially when it comes in the spirit of Peace. Nevertheless, I think that articles in favor of war in any shape should not have been published, without, at least, a temporary answer, or something to show, that, although the Society might think itself in honor and in duty bound to publish them, it did not adopt the principles contained in them, as its own creed; but reserved to itself the right of withholding its judgment, at least, for the present.

These historic episodes, with complete references, months ago have been courteously called to the notice of the Society's present editor and executive official. But no acknowledgment has been forthcoming. *The Advocate of Peace* for January, however, contained an indirect reference to the citations and dismissed them as follows:

The reply here is that the American Peace Society has existed from the beginning for the purpose of co-ordinating a maximum amount of intelligent public opinion in behalf of an attainable international peace. It is concerned to win friends and support and not to engender enmities and ill-will. The American Peace Society has never been a non-resistant society [a fact explicitly recognized in the correspondence accompanying the factual material not printed] although many non-resistants have worked with it. It has stood throughout the years as an exponent of the principles of international justice found consonant with American principles and the best practice of nations. Its platform today clearly embodies the program of its founder. The thing it is working for is the thing for which he gave his life. It has not been an easy course. As early as 1831, in the third year of the Society's existence, its founder felt constrained to unburden himself in the Society's magazine with these words:

"Some abandon us because we carry our principles too far, and others because we do not carry them far enough.

"Some think us too orthodox, while others complain that there is nothing of orthodoxy about us. For my own part I have only one opinion, and that is that it is incumbent on me to promote the cause of peace on earth and peace in the Society."

The quotation is authentic; it could be duplicated by others of the same period. The one trouble with it is that it dates from 1831, a year before Ladd—and with him others in the Society—became a frank non-resistant pacifist. For three years of his work with the Society he did not favor such a position though he was only a scant distance from it. At the time of his correspondence with Thomas S. Grimké in 1832, following the latter's radical speech at New Haven in May of that year, Ladd became a pacifist not only in the sense of opposing all war but even any individual use of force—a position held by only a minority even in the pacifist movements of today.

It would be possible to fill pages with his radical, resounding utterances—statements that would seem extravagantly pacifistic even to some modern pacifists. Take for instance his views on patriotism (1834):

Patriotism, as it is generally understood, is in direct opposition to Christianity. One is founded on self-love; the other on the love of God's creatures. Patriotism prefers the good of country to the good of the whole human race. It approves of injustice to another country, when that injustice promotes the interest of our own. But the man, who would lie, deceive, rob, or murder, for the sake of his country, is no better than he who would commit all these crimes, for his own individual interest. For patriotism, as it is usually practiced, is but an extended selfishness, and is as much inferior to philanthropy, as a narrow, clownish spirit, which loves none but its own friends and relations, is to the most expanded patriotism. He, who prefers the interest of a part of mankind to the interest of the whole—the interest of his own nation to that of the world in general—though he may come up to the highest mark in patriotism, falls far below the lowest grade of Christianity.

THIS, then, is the founder to whose ideals the present American Peace Society is loyal! The plain truth is, the Society today wins tolerant sympathy from militarists and support from conservative officialdom, by its very unlikeness to the old-time organization. For unlike it is, very different from the friendly, respectful union of radical and conservative among the early pioneers, and unlike its founder because it stands in hostile, belittling opposition to those of today who approximate, if they do not go so far as to parallel, Ladd's personal views.

The American Peace Society, indeed, has behind it a record of which any movement may be proud, even if true that the farther behind it the better the record. And let no one think these words are written from any thought of criticism for its own sake. The writer for more than six years has shared in various pleas published in this journal for greater unity in peace efforts, and has seen his own editorials to this end rewarded in one instance by a conference for united ef-

fort, abortive though that first one proved to be. It is high time that someone in possession of the historic facts should accept the risk of being considered a "knocker," so significant to the peace movement as a whole is the American Peace Society's reversal with its added years.

The first essential for unity and co-operation is a spirit of mutual respect, frankness, and a decent regard for facts. A thoughtful examination of its journal and its literature, early as well as recent, raises serious doubt whether in these particulars the American Peace Society is either desirous, or capable, of friendly fellowship with other peace groups.

Its present excessive conservatism is not the issue. What is in question is its stubborn refusal to acknowledge its departure from the spirit and viewpoint which it professes to revere in its founders, yet which it con-

sistently belittles in contemporary peace groups of more radical views and more vigorous endeavor.

The importance of such a transformation is not slight. Many honest conservatives are led to endorse historic figures with which they have no real agreement; the early pioneers of peace are given a position which must make them rotate in their tombs; and the development of the peace movement in its historic and current inter-relations is distorted for the unsophisticated public.

In all of this there is food for thought, not only for those still devoted to the traditional career of this veteran society, but for those now radical as they study present policies in the light of what appears to be an almost universal concomitant of institutional old age.

Possibly the American Peace Society is not yet dead. But even that living death, senescent dotage, presents no happy spectacle.

How It Feels to Be Colored Me

ZORA NEALE HURSTON

I AM colored but I offer nothing in the way of extenuating circumstances except the fact that I am the only Negro in the United States whose grandfather on the mother's side was *not* an Indian chief.

I remember the very day that I became colored. Up to my thirteenth year I lived in the little Negro town of Eatonville, Florida. It is exclusively a colored town. The only white people I knew passed through the town going to or coming from Orlando. The native whites rode dusty horses, the Northern tourists chugged down the sandy village road in automobiles. The town knew the Southerners and never stopped cane chewing when they passed. But the Northerners were something else again. They were peered at cautiously from behind curtains by the timid. The more venturesome would come out on the porch to watch them go past and got just as much pleasure out of the tourists as the tourists got out of the village.

The front porch might seem a daring place for the rest of the town, but it was a gallery seat to me. My favorite place was atop the gate-post. Proscenium box for a born first-nighter. Not only did I enjoy the show, but I didn't mind the actors knowing that I liked it. I usually spoke to them in passing. I'd wave at them and when they returned my salute, I would say something like this: "Howdy-do-well-I-thank-you-where-you-goin'?" Usually automobile or the horse paused at this, and after a queer exchange of compliments, I would probably "go a piece of the way" with them, as we say in farthest Florida. If one of my family happened to come to the front in time to see me, of course

negotiations would be rudely broken off. But even so, it is clear that I was the first "welcome-to-our-state" Floridian, and I hope the Miami Chamber of Commerce will please take notice.

During this period, white people differed from colored to me only in that they rode through town and never lived there. They liked to hear me "speak pieces" and sing and wanted to see me dance the parse-me-la, and gave me generously of their small silver for doing these things, which seemed strange to me for I wanted to do them so much that I needed bribing to stop. Only they didn't know it. The colored people gave no dimes. They deplored any joyful tendencies in me, but I was their Zora nevertheless. I belonged to them, to the nearby hotels, to the county—everybody's Zora.

But changes came in the family when I was thirteen, and I was sent to school in Jacksonville. I left Eatonville, the town of the oleanders, as Zora. When I disembarked from the river-boat at Jacksonville, she was no more. It seemed that I had suffered a sea change. I was not Zora of Orange County any more, I was now a little colored girl. I found it out in certain ways. In my heart as well as in the mirror, I became a fast brown—warranted not to rub nor run.

BUT I am not tragically colored. There is no great sorrow dammed up in my soul, nor lurking behind my eyes. I do not mind at all. I do not belong to the sobbing school of Negrohood who hold that nature somehow has given them a lowdown dirty deal and

whose feelings are all hurt about it. Even in the helter-skelter skirmish that is my life, I have seen that the world is to the strong regardless of a little pigmentation more or less. No, I do not weep at the world—I am too busy sharpening my oyster knife.

Someone is always at my elbow reminding me that I am the grand-daughter of slaves. It fails to register depression with me. Slavery is sixty years in the past. The operation was successful and the patient is doing well, thank you. The terrible struggle that made me an American out of a potential slave said "On the line!" The Reconstruction said "Get set!"; and the generation before said "Go!" I am off to a flying start and I must not halt in the stretch to look behind and weep. Slavery is the price I paid for civilization, and the choice was not with me. It is a bully adventure and worth all that I have paid through my ancestors for it. No one on earth ever had a greater chance for glory. The world to be won and nothing to be lost. It is thrilling to think—to know that for any act of mine, I shall get twice as much praise or twice as much blame. It is quite exciting to hold the center of the national stage, with the spectators not knowing whether to laugh or to weep.

The position of my white neighbor is much more difficult. No brown specter pulls up a chair beside me when I sit down to eat. No dark ghost thrusts its leg against mine in bed. The game of keeping what one has is never so exciting as the game of getting.

I do not always feel colored. Even now I often achieve the unconscious Zora of Eatonville before the Hegira. I feel most colored when I am thrown against a sharp white background.

For instance at Barnard. "Beside the waters of the Hudson" I feel my race. Among the thousand white persons, I am a dark rock surged upon, overswept by a creamy sea. I am surged upon and overswept, but through it all, I remain myself. When covered by the waters, I am; and the ebb but reveals me again.

SOMETIMES it is the other way around. A white person is set down in our midst, but the contrast is just as sharp for me. For instance, when I sit in the drafty basement that is The New World Cabaret with a white person, my color comes. We enter chatting about any little nothing that we have in common and are seated by the jazz waiters. In the abrupt way that jazz orchestras have, this one plunges into a number. It loses no time in circumlocutions, but gets right down to business. It constricts the thorax and splits the heart with its tempo and narcotic harmonies. This orchestra grows rambunctious, rears on its hind legs and attacks the tonal veil with primitive fury, rending it, clawing it until it breaks through to the jungle beyond. I follow those heathen—follow them exultingly. I dance wildly inside myself; I yell within, I whoop; I

shake my assegai above my head, I hurl it true to the mark *yeeeeoooooww!* I am in the jungle and living in the jungle way. My face is painted red and yellow and my body is painted blue. My pulse is throbbing like a war drum. I want to slaughter something—give pain, give death to what, I do not know. But the piece ends. The men of the orchestra wipe their lips and rest their fingers. I creep back slowly to the veneer we call civilization with the last tone and find the white friend sitting motionless in his seat, smoking calmly.

"Good music they have here," he remarks, drumming the table with his fingertips.

Music! The great blobs of purple and red emotion have not touched him. He has only heard what I felt. He is far away and I see him but dimly across the ocean and the continent that have fallen between us. He is so pale with his whiteness then and I am so colored.

AT certain times I have no race, I am *me*. When I set my hat at a certain angle and saunter down Seventh Avenue, Harlem City, feeling as snooty as the lions in front of the Forty-Second Street Library, for instance. So far as my feelings are concerned, Peggy Hopkins Joyce on the Boule Mich with her gorgeous raiment, stately carriage, knees knocking together in a most aristocratic manner, has nothing on me. The cosmic Zora emerges. I belong to no race nor time. I am the eternal feminine with its string of beads.

I have no separate feeling about being an American citizen and colored. I am merely a fragment of the Great Soul that surges within the boundaries. My country, right or wrong.

Sometimes, I feel discriminated against, but it does not make me angry. It merely astonishes me. How *can* any deny themselves the pleasure of my company! It's beyond me.

But in the main, I feel like a brown bag of miscellany propped against a wall. Against a wall in company with other bags, white, red and yellow. Pour out the contents, and there is discovered a jumble of small things priceless and worthless. A first-water diamond, an empty spool, bits of broken glass, lengths of string, a key to a door long since crumbled away, a rusty knife-blade, old shoes saved for a road that never was and never will be, a nail bent under the weight of things too heavy for any nail, a dried flower or two, still a little fragrant. In your hand is the brown bag. On the ground before you is the jumble it held—so much like the jumble in the bags, could they be emptied, that all might be dumped in a single heap and the bags refilled without altering the content of any greatly. A bit of colored glass more or less would not matter. Perhaps that is how the Great Stuffer of Bags filled them in the first place—who knows?

Clippings

Than Any Other People

We in France are more pacific than any other people, be they who they may. We want a powerful sword only to safeguard peace and to defend, at all costs, liberty.—*Marshal Foch*, quoted by *George Sylvester Viereck*, *Liberty*, March 10, 1928.

Every Nation Says the Same

The War, Navy, and State Departments (of the United States) are not and never have been busy, and never will be, in preparing for war, except for defense.—*Colonel Harry V. Wurdemann*, *Advocate of Peace*, February, 1928.

Over 600,000

We train them almost from the cradle to the grave in military tactics. The total number in all of the establishments (of the United States) is over 600,000—an army very much larger in size and equipment than the popular notion. It must be conceded, however, that some in these War Department citizens organizations are there purely for propaganda purposes. However, this does not matter. We are face to face with the facts that we have a military establishment of over 600,000 men, and its gain in 1928 will be in excess of 22,000 officers and men.—*Ross A. Collins*, *The Advocate of Peace*, March, 1928.

Hiding the Steady Expansion

Our military power holds no threat of aggrandizement, says Mr. Coolidge. And again, the American Navy is "a refuge in time of disorder, and always the servant of world peace." "Wherever our flag goes, the rights of humanity increase." Scoffers might perhaps at this point recall the fact that it is only under the American flag that men can still be burned alive without any serious or effective interference on the part of public authority or public opinion. But, of course, it is under phrases such as these that a President, famous for his caution and proud of his devotion to the simple American virtues, is expected to hide the steady expansion of the imperial power of the United States in Central and South America and the Caribbean Sea—*Topics of the Times*, *The Living Age*, February, 1, 1928.

The Penalty of Death

The United States is the nation that leads the world in scientific progress, that boasts of achievement in the adjustment of industrial relations, in dealing with complex social and welfare problems, yet hangs its head in shame with 10,000 homicidal deaths each year. . . . If the fear of death is a deterrent, how is it that a man can commit murder even in prison, where the chances of escaping detection are 1 to 10,000. . . . I ask that others will bring to this problem an open mind, will ask themselves these questions and answer them without prejudice. I find that those who have given real study to the subject usually favor the abolition of the death penalty.—*Lewis E. Lawes*, *Warden of Sing Sing Prison*, in the New York Telegram, January 11, 1928.

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Clippings" from which we may make selections for future issues.

Symptoms of Intelligence

I have never yet seen an intelligence test that actually tested the intelligence.—*Professor André Morize* of Harvard, *New York World*, January 14, 1928.

Labor's Prosperity

Labor in America has never been subjected to a more thorough, subtle, brutal, dangerous attack than at this very moment. Company unions continue to thrive. The basic industries are unorganized. Injunctions are hurled about with savage glee by judges subservient to their industrial and financial masters. On Armistice Day (Armistice Day, the irony of it) a New York judge, at the behest of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, summoned President Green and the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor to show cause why they should not be enjoined from trying to organize the exploited subway workers in a regular union. Textile workers averaging twelve to fourteen dollars a week are being presented with a 10 per cent cut in wages. Wages generally are tragically (or ridiculously, as you please) low for a country so rich as ours. The orthodox United Mine Workers of America are being fought as harshly in Pennsylvania and Ohio as the heretical I. W. W. in Colorado. Hardly a union of any importance that is not under serious attack.—*A. J. Muste*, in *Labor Age*, January, 1928.

If Minorities Waited

It would be interesting to inquire just where civilization would now stand if people of ideas, ideals, inventiveness, and superior intelligence had always refused to act on their convictions until they had won a clear majority of their fellow citizens over to their view of the universe. What would happen if all good things wrested from fortune by minorities were condemned as immoral and rejected by the righteous? The answer is almost as frightful to contemplate as a scene from the palaeolithic age.—*Charles A. Beard* in *The Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1927.

A Recruit for Kaiser Bill

I am not a pacifist and I do not approve of pacifist tactics in any sense. The so-called "conscientious objectors" to fighting or letting others fight for the defense of our country and the rights of humanity are simply pathological cases of perverted citizenship. I believe not in the paci-fist but in the mailed fist.—*Dr. Joseph Silverman*, *Rabbi Emeritus of Temple Emanu-El*, after seeing "The Prisoner" as quoted in *The New York Times*, Jan. 22, 1928.

Who's Which

Soviet Russia,
Atheist and ungodly,
Proposes to mankind to disarm.
President Coolidge,
Christian and pious,
Asks Congress for a billion dollar navy.

What possible content can the terms "Atheist" and "Christian" carry in this strange juxtaposition? Who's which?—*Doremus Scudder* in *The Open Forum*, January 14, 1928.

Pacifism and the Use of Force

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

WHEN defining pacifism and discussing its relation to the social problems of modern society it is important to begin by disclaiming the right to express anyone's opinion except one's own. Pacifists are no more divided than other groups who try to apply general principles and ideals to the specific facts of the common life; but it is inevitable that they should hold with varying degrees of consistency to the common principles which bind them into a group. In a general way pacifists may be defined as social idealists who are profoundly critical and sceptical of the use of physical force in the solution of social problems. At the extreme left in the pacifist group are the apostles of thoroughgoing non-resistance, who refuse to avail themselves of the use of physical force in any and every situation. At the right are the more circumspect social analysts who disavow the use of force in at least one important social situation, as, for instance, armed international conflict. What really unites this group in spite of its varying shades of conviction is the common belief that the use of force is an evil. The consistent exponents of non-resistance would regard it as an unnecessary evil in all situations. Those who are less consistent regard it as an evil in all situations but as a necessary evil in some situations.

The writer abhors consistency as a matter of general principle because history seems to prove that absolute consistency usually betrays into some kind of absurdity. He must begin, therefore, by stating two positions which represent the two poles of his thought. One is that the use of physical violence in international life has impressed itself upon his mind as an unmitigated and unjustified evil. The other is that some form of social compulsion seems necessary and justified on occasion in all but the most ideal human societies. Between these two positions a line must be drawn somewhere, to distinguish between the use of force as a necessary and as an unnecessary evil. Different men of equal intelligence and sincerity will draw that line in different places. Perhaps some, while claiming to be critical of the use of force, will find it practically necessary in so many situations that they may hardly be counted among the pacifists. It is necessary, therefore, to draw an arbitrary line and count only those among the pacifists who express their critical attitude toward the use of force by disavowing it completely in at least one important situation. Perhaps it ought to be added that a true pacifist will prove the sincerity of his conviction by seeking the diminution of force and by experimenting with other methods of social cooperation in every social situation.

THE reason armed international conflict stands in a category of its own is because history has proven its worthlessness as a method of solving social problems so vividly that it has become practically impossible to justify it on any moral grounds. It is morally so impotent and so perilous chiefly for two reasons. One is that force in an international dispute is used by the parties to a dispute and it therefore aggravates rather than solves the evils and misunderstandings which led to the dispute. If there is any possibility of force being redemptive it is an absolute prerequisite that it be exerted by an agency which is impartial and unbiased with reference to the controversy. The other reason is that the use of force in international conflict inevitably issues in the destruction of life, and, what is more, in the destruction of the lives of many who have had no share in the dispute and who are innocent of the evils which a war may be designed to eliminate.

If international conflict is outlawed on these two grounds it would follow that the use of force by some society of nations would fall in a different category. If force is under the control of an impartial tribunal it has a better chance of being redemptive, or, at least, of not being totally destructive of morals, than if it is merely the means of conflict. However, it must be observed that it is so much more difficult to create an impartial society and an impartial tribunal with reference to disputes between large groups, national and economic, than with reference to controversies between individuals, that it is much more necessary to seek the total abolition of force in overcoming group conflict than in settling the difficulties of individuals within a group. A "league to enforce peace" between nations has much less chance of succeeding than has a government to enforce peace between individuals, simply because the total number of groups which make up the league is relatively so small in comparison with the number which may be engaged in a controversy that it is practically impossible to guarantee the impartiality of the groups which enforce the decision of a tribunal. Added to this is the fact that a league of nations is no more able to punish a recalcitrant nation without destroying the lives of innocent people than is a single nation. Economic pressure rather than military force may reduce this moral hazard to a certain extent and it may therefore have a higher moral justification than the latter; but it does not entirely remove the difficulty and must therefore be regarded as a dangerous expedient. Though it is a dangerous expedient it does not follow that it is an expedient that may never be justified on moral grounds.

PACIFISTS assume too easily, it seems to me, that all controversies are due to misunderstandings which might be solved by a greater degree of imagination. When the strong exploit the weak they produce a conflict which is not the result of ignorance but of the brutality of human nature. It may be that the strong can be convinced in time that it is not to their ultimate interest to destroy the weak. But they can hardly gain this conviction if the weak do not offer resistance to oppression in some form. It may be that this resistance need not express itself physically at all. It may express itself in the use of the "soul force" advocated by Gandhi. But even as thoroughgoing a spiritual idealist as Gandhi has realized that the forgiving love of the oppressed lacks redemptive force if the strong are not made to realize that alternatives to a policy of love are within reach of the oppressed. Oppressed classes, races and nations, like the industrial workers, the Negroes, India and China, are therefore under the necessity of doing more than appeal to the imagination and the sense of justice of their oppressors. Where there is a great inequality of physical advantage and physical power it is difficult to establish moral relations. Weakness invites aggression. Even the most intelligent and moral individuals are more inclined to unethical conduct with those who are unable to offer resistance to injustice than with those who can. It must be admitted that an inert China did not succeed in inviting the attention of the world to its maladies, while a rebellious China did. Even the social idealists in the western world who were not totally oblivious to the evils of western imperialism in the Orient before the nationalist movement assumed large proportions had their conscience quickened by it.

It is obviously possible to resist injustice without using physical force and certainly without using violence. In a world in which conscience and imagination have been highly sensitized the oppressed may seek relief against their oppressors and punish them for their misdeeds by indicting them before the bar of public opinion. But it seems that the world in which we live is not so spiritual that it is always possible to prompt the wrongdoer to contrition merely by appealing to his conscience and to that of the society in which he lives. It may be necessary to deprive him of some concrete advantage or inflict some obvious hurt upon him to bring him to his senses. In other words, Gandhi's boycott in India and the Chinese boycott against the English in Hongkong and the strike of the industrial worker would seem to be necessary strategies in the kind of world in which we live. It is possible to justify the use of such force without condoning violence of any kind. The distinction between violence and such other uses of force as economic boycotts is not only in degree of destruction which results from them but in the degree of redemptive force which

they possess. Parents frequently find it necessary to aid the defective imagination of a child by creating painful consequences by artificial means for acts which would result in painful consequences of their own accord in the long run. But the character of the child might be ruined before it had the opportunity to test the actual consequences. On the other hand, if such punishment is administered violently it will confuse rather than clarify the moral judgments of the child. When oppressed groups resort to violence they also confuse the moral judgment of the society from which they seek justice. They give society the pretext for identifying social maladjustments with social peace and for maintaining the former in the effort to preserve the latter. In the same way the effort of society to maintain a social equilibrium by the undue use of force, particularly by the violent use of force, inevitably confuses rather than clarifies the moral judgments of its minorities and easily prompts them to violence and destruction.

IF force is used, therefore, for the sake of gaining moral and social ends, it is necessary to guard its use very carefully. Every society, every individual as well, is easily tempted to overestimate the importance of force in the creation of social solidarities. Many people live under the illusion that a nation is integrated by force and that order is maintained in its life by police power. The fact is that societies are created by attitudes of mutual respect and trust; and standards of conduct within a society are created by mutual consent. Every society seems under the necessity of maintaining its integrity against and forcing its standards upon a certain anti-social minority by the use of force. It is this anti-social minority which justifies, or at least seems to justify, the use of a certain minimum amount of force. It is because every society tends to over-emphasize the place of force in its social strategy that absolutists have considerable justification for the thesis that force ought to be completely abolished; for the social efficacy of force is very definitely limited and most societies have been too uncritical to discover these limitations.

The first obvious limitation is that force can be used only upon a very insignificant minority. If the great majority of a people do not choose to observe a law it is not possible to enforce it by even the most ruthless police action. If a government does not rest upon the consent of the governed every effort to maintain it by ruthlessness must ultimately result in complete disintegration, as, for instance, in the Russian revolution. If a political policy does not achieve the uncoerced acceptance of a vast majority of the population, every effort to enforce it finally proves abortive. Even when the minority which opposes a government or a governmental policy is numerically small and insignificant, its

coercion is fraught with moral and social peril. A so-called anti-social minority is, for one thing, never as completely anti-social as the society which tries to coerce it imagines. A part of the minority is usually made up of social idealists who resist the moral compromises upon which the life of every society is inevitably based, not because they are too high for its attainment but because they are too low for its ideals. It has been the tragic mistake of almost every society to number its prophets among its transgressors. Thus the same coercion by which it sought to avoid social disintegration has operated to produce social stagnation. The same force which preserved its standards also destroyed the social forces by which those standards might have been gradually perfected. A high degree of imagination, which few societies have achieved, is required to distinguish between creative and the disintegrating forces in its life. It may be observed in passing that while it is in the interest of social progress to dissuade societies from undue reliance upon coercion it will probably always be necessary for creative minorities to pay a certain price in martyrdom for their achievements. All social organisms are conservative and are bound to resist not only those who try to draw them backward but those who try to pull them forward.

Even after the distinction between creative and disintegrating forces in the social minority has been made there is no clear case for the use of force upon the remaining, really "criminal" minority. Some force may be necessary in dealing with the criminal, but every undue reliance upon force obscures the defects in the life of society itself which have helped to create the criminal. A wayward child is just as much the product of a faulty pedagogy as of innate human defects. It is dangerous to follow Clarence Darrow's moral nihilism and insist that every individual is merely the product of his environment and therefore without blame; but it is obvious enough that much anti-social conduct is definitely due to maladjustments in society. That is what Jesus meant by suggesting that he who is without guilt should throw the first stone. Of the cases of criminality which remain after those for which society is responsible have been subtracted a certain proportion must be attributed to purely pathological causes. A wise society will deal with these without passion and will use force only to put their unfortunate authors in social quarantine.

What is left after all these subtractions have been made represents the real criminal minority. While physical restraint and coercion are probably necessary in dealing with this group, it is obvious that even here force has its limitations. Imagination and understanding may restore a goodly portion of this group to useful membership in society, while the uncritical use of force will merely aggravate its defects. We must

arrive, then, at the conclusion that the use of force is dangerous in all social situations, harmful in most of them and redemptive only in a very few.

THE validity of the pacifist position rests in a general way upon the assumption that men are intelligent and moral and that a generous attitude toward them will ultimately, if not always immediately, discover, develop and challenge what is best in them. This is a large assumption which every specific instance will not justify. The strategy of love therefore involves some risks. These risks are not as great as they are sometimes made to appear, for the simple reason that love does not only discover but it creates moral purpose. The cynic who discounts the moral potentialities of human nature seems always to verify his critical appraisal of human nature for the reason that his very scepticism lowers the moral potentialities of the individuals and groups with which he deals. On the other hand, the faith which assumes generosity in the fellow-man is also verified because it tends to create what it assumes. If a nation assumes that there is no protection against the potential peril of a neighbor but the force of arms, its assumption is all too easily justified, for suspicion creates suspicion, fear creates fear, and hatred creates hatred. It is interesting to note in this connection how in the relations of France and Germany since the war every victory or seeming victory of the nationalists in Germany has given strength to the chauvinists of France, and vice versa; while every advantage for the forces of one nation which believe in trust has resulted in an almost immediate advantage for the trustworthy elements in the other. Hence the contest between the apostles of force and the apostles of love can never be decided purely on the basis of scientific evidence. The character of the evidence is determined to a great degree by the assumptions upon which social relations are initiated. This is the fact which gives the champions of the strategy of love the right to venture far beyond the policy which a cool and calculating sanity would dictate. It may not be true that love never fails; but it is true that love creates its own victories, and they are always greater than would seem possible from the standpoint of a merely critical observer.

God Draws a Breath

(1918:1928)

CHARLIE'S got a million bucks and Philip's got a job,
And Jerry has a wooden leg in place of one of brawn;
The world is full of cosy folks and barley soup and squab
And battleships and brotherhood.—Another ten years gone.
KILE CROOK



Building Tomorrow's World

The Economic Frontiers of Idealism

THE problem of making our practice square with our ideals is apparently a permanent one. It was the theme of the Hebrew prophets. The moralists of all ages and climes have made it their concern. Not the least among the phases of the problem is the incompatibility between high thinking and luxurious living.

In the very beginning of Christianity there was no danger from this quarter. The followers of the Nazarene in the Roman world were poor people for the most part. But when Christianity became the official religion and Christians were appointed to posts which enabled them to acquire fortunes, the problem became acute. Monasticism was the answer of the Middle Ages to the spiritual dangers of luxurious living.

Today people will not be expected to enter monasteries to escape wealth; the temper of this age is decidedly different from that of the Middle Ages. But the problem is here, and is concerning many people. It should concern many more.

The problem which I propose to discuss may be stated simply: Assuming that one is interested in an ideal social order, the enjoyment of a standard of living greatly in excess of that possible for others undercuts one's idealism and separates one from the underprivileged sections of humanity.

More concretely, the issue is this: the leaders of the church, of labor unions and of other idealist organizations are prone to adopt a financial standard of personal living and for official activities which is incompatible with their professed ideals.

ON Armistice Day, 1927, a dinner was given to eight hundred foreign students in New York City. The price of the dinner was \$3.50 a plate. Men who could afford to spend seven dollars in this manner were hosts for the evening of these eight hundred foreign students whom they had never seen before and are not likely to see again. This banquet was held in one

of the most luxurious hotels in America. Now, I have my doubts. I wonder whether brotherhood can grow in the atmosphere of a sumptuous banquet under the somewhat artificial conditions necessarily attending such an affair.

Last year a distinguished Englishman came to America to lecture upon a subject of interest to peace-seeking people. Upon his arrival a banquet was held to give him the opportunity of speaking to a congenial company. But only those who could spend five dollars for a meal were able to hear him.

Some years ago a peace society held a banquet the cost of which was ten dollars a plate, and I am informed that the price did not enable the society to make a profit. Recently a banquet was held for the purpose of honoring a leading churchman. The fee for honoring him was four dollars a plate.

These illustrations will suffice to indicate the strong tendency toward opulence and away from simplicity and sincerity which is observable in the activities of some of our most idealistic groups. I suggest that opulence and sincerity are antithetical because these groups are continually bemoaning the lack of funds to carry forward some good work which they propose. As long as money is so vital a factor in social progress and as long as so much misery exists for lack of money, it is insincere, dishonest, for people to go to five dollar banquets and talk about social justice. If there were real conviction and real consecration people would be ashamed of such a spectacle.

ANOTHER consideration is that of salaries paid to the leaders of organizations dedicated to social justice and a more abundant life for all. The leaders of such groups supposedly represent the aims and ethics of their movements, and in their policies embody those ethics. It is fair to ask a man who is devoting his time to laying the foundations of the new society that his personal standards manifest that concern which he professes.

The labor movement has as its principal reason for

existence the improvement of the working conditions and pay for workmen to the end that their personalities may have the proper opportunity for development. At present the "abundant life" enjoyed by the average worker in the United States is limited by an income of \$1,400 per year. Yet the leaders in the labor movement, the salaried officials of the great unions, receive salaries from three to six times as large as that of the average worker whom they serve. If the leaders of the movement manifested the sacrificial loyalty to the best interests of the men which their positions would seem to demand, such salaries would not be expected or accepted, and the labor movement would command support and respect which is often but sparingly given at the present time.

The Church too is committed to seeking to bring about a social order which shall guarantee "equal rights and complete justice for all . . . , that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life . . . and the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised." One of the largest Protestant denominations has taken the position that "if the Church would stand aloof from the struggle of the industrial toilers of today to secure time and strength for the discipline of education, its right hand would lose its cunning and its tongue cleave to the roof of its mouth."

With this sort of commitment on the part of the great majority of the Church in America, one has a right to expect that the spiritual leaders of the Church shall manifest in their own personal standards that solidarity with the poor and under-privileged which the Church professes. One has a right, I feel, to expect that spiritual leaders who believe in "the brotherhood of leisure and the brotherhood of toil" shall decline to cut themselves off from their brethren by adopting a standard of living far in excess of that possible for all. I say "cut themselves off," for I think it is incontrovertible that great differences in standard of living, generally speaking, do create barriers across which understanding and true sympathy cannot pass. How can any preacher, except the most remarkable, feel the reality of the problem faced by the average wage-earner when he enjoys an income three times as high?

One might argue that the builders of the new society should live on the average wage, about \$1,400, in order to keep themselves spiritually alive to the needs of society, and to keep themselves from growing indifferent and conservative. Or again, one might argue that it is only necessary to limit oneself to the income which all might enjoy if there were a more or less equal distribution of the national income. This would be somewhat less than \$3,000. One might accept an income which is theoretically possible to all without feeling that he was taking what really belonged to others,

or that he was riding upon the backs of his brethren; but to accept an income far above that possible to all seems to me morally indefensible on the part of those who are committed to working for social justice.

It is true that some of the leaders in religious, peace, economic and similar movements, are exposed to heavy strain and long hours, and are frequently safeguarded by pensions or the welfare provisions offered to employes by many concerns in industry and business. Equally true, too, that they must be kept fit for leadership by provision for study and recreation. Nor can they spare the time for certain economies possible to those who labor on the basis of an eight or nine hour day. There are, besides, obligations of entertainment and travel not always provided for outside of salaries and yet which are essential to effective leadership. Whether or not such considerations are sufficient to justify taking salaries two or three times as great as the average man can hope to receive is open to serious doubts. In so far as the work one does is actually dependent upon a high scale of expenditure, such a scale can perhaps be justified. But too often the chief reason for the high scale must be sought in the realm of personal taste and convenience. And personal taste and convenience will be recast in a humbler mold when the iron has entered into the soul—when one really cares about the underprivileged sections of society.

To give point to what may appear abstract, one recalls a minister of liberal leanings who confessed that he required \$16,000 yearly to keep up his bachelor home; and that other preacher who, refusing to accept a salary of \$12,000, thought he could get along on \$8,000. While these illustrations are exceptional, it still remains true that there are a great many preachers in America who receive from \$6,000 to \$10,000. Their number is large enough to create an ethical problem of importance.

Still another aspect of the problem relates to the disparity in the incomes of ministers. The average income of ministers in the United States is \$1,500. In order to include in this average the large number of salaries of \$4,000 and above, a high percentage of ministers must receive about \$1,000 per year. The average preacher receives about as much money for his work as the average man who works with his hands. Yet he is a professional man, and is expected to dress well, and must have more cultural opportunities than the average workingman has, if he is to be a useful minister.

The low salary paid to the average preacher reflects the same conditions which dictate the low average wage of all other workers. But this need should present a peculiar urgency to the Church. The clergy should be the first-line forces in the struggle for the new society. If they cannot afford to be educated or

to supply themselves with the books and journals which would stimulate their work, progress will obviously be retarded. Here, then, is a direct challenge to the Church and its professions of brotherhood. I do not see how such a state of affairs can be morally justified.

IF, in the face of the conditions noted, it be agreed that great disparity in salaries of preachers is a violation of Christian ethics, what can be done to remedy the situation? The Wesleyan Church in Great Britain has, since the days of John Wesley, provided a scale of allowances for dependent children. The foreign mission boards also follow a system of payment according to need. The system of allowances for dependents has widespread use in industries on the European continent.

Another system which has been successfully used for a long time is found in the non-conformist churches of Great Britain. The theory on which it operates is that the support of every minister is the concern of the entire church. Every minister is paid a minimum salary from a central fund, into which each congregation pays a quota based on its ability. This system does not guarantee equality, of course, for the local congregation may pay its minister any amount it wishes. But the minimum needs of the clergy are cared for by the whole church, guaranteeing a state of usefulness and ability that is not always found in America. This sys-

tem is also applied to the support of the schools in some places, notably California.

Lest it appear that I think the situation altogether bad let me hasten to disclaim such a view. The social conscience is growing keener among Christians, I believe. The realistic social movement in the Church is not yet very old. It has made some impression. Here and there are organizations in which salaries are based on need and in which executives refuse to accept large salaries. Here and there individuals, for conscience' sake, refuse places of privilege and ease which their fellows would accept without hesitation.

Jesus accounted wealth a hindrance to spiritual life. Buddha and St. Francis found it a hindrance to the enduring satisfaction. John Wesley found he could live on twenty-eight pounds in his student days, and all his life restricted himself to thirty pounds a year. Gandhi has disdained a life of comfort and has chosen solidarity with the people of India.

When will more of our spiritual leaders and those who look forward to the new society hear the clear call to plain living and solidarity with the underprivileged, and begin life on the frontiers of their professed idealism? If our religion and our ideals are more than pious platitudes I think it is time to look critically at five dollar banquets for brotherhood and at high salaries for the heralds of the coming day.

DON M. CHASE

Does the Foreigner Get Justice?

AMY BLANCHE GREENE

"THE stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the home-born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself," said the Levitical Code at least four centuries before Jesus came. What of our treatment of the "foreigner" in this the twentieth century after Jesus' coming?

Most of the 7,000,000 aliens in this country came as adult peasants from central and southern Europe, where business was done with friends and neighbors, involving little money, and where everybody knew everyone else. Here they face the complexity of our city life with its impersonal business relations, where everything is measured in terms of money, where they have few or no friends, little money, no knowledge of our language, laws or customs, and no information as to available work.

Being human they seek their own! Five out of six join the congested colonies of their compatriots in our great cities; overcrowded, noisy, remote from the currents of native life—social, political, moral, religious. Sensitive to every experience, they seek jobs—their

first need! Unskilled immigrant labor can be profitably employed only where large groups work together at construction work, in mines, foundries, or lumber camps. Most of this is seasonal work, far from the city and available only because the average American workman does not want it.

Free employment agencies, where existent, are of little help to the "foreigner" because of the language difficulty. Private agencies flourish, charging exorbitant registration fees. An interpreter, who handles carfares, must go with the gang; he often overcharges or requires fares which the employing company should pay. Working conditions and wages may be misrepresented. No work may be available on arrival and the workmen are thus stranded without money, food or shelter and with no one locally to understand their plight.

Obviously, two great injustices are involved. No prolonged and serious effort has ever been made by our Federal government to accomplish a better distribution of arriving immigrants or to inform them of

industrial and agricultural needs and opportunities. It is conceivable that our Department of Labor could apportion the quota at each of the several ports of entry so that New York, Philadelphia and Boston (approximately 75% of all immigrants arrive at these ports) could be relieved of the pressure, and stimulate and coordinate the efforts of state and private agencies which seek to distribute immigrants over wider areas and enable them to secure an agricultural foothold.

Notably in California and Wisconsin state help has been given in the initial stages of buying land and adaptation to American methods. Where sufficient time has been given to pay for the land the large majority of newcomers have been successful. Settled in groups of from five to fifteen families with American-born families and those of other nationalities, their wholesome incorporation into American life is reasonably assured.

If even preliminary examinations at ports of embarkation can so greatly reduce the injustice incident to turning back immigrants from our ports, surely some plan can be devised which will prevent the concentration of foreign folk in cities on the Atlantic Coast and inland railway centers.¹ Such a plan would, of course, be opposed by manufacturing interests because it would reduce the supply of surplus labor in industrial centers, and by labor organizations because it might make possible the shifting of workers to areas of labor disturbances.

Detailed information regarding industries, the wages, hours, working and living conditions, and the possibility of promptly securing employment could be given on shipboard by authorized representatives of the Department of Labor, and on arrival even more specific information and advice should be made available. Unquestionably, federal and state agencies will long be needed to put private and public resources at the service of the foreign-born.

We say glibly, "Let them learn English and read English books!" How many college-trained persons in the United States ever learn, in adult life, a new language well enough to speak and write it fluently, read its best literature, or worship happily in it? What, then, of the average immigrant, who has had little education in his homeland—through scant fault of his own—who does hard physical labor at least eight hours a day for six days a week, and who lives in crowded quarters with little or no chance for quiet?

Granted that every country has the right to compel the use of a common language as a medium of teaching in its schools, in these days of increasing emphasis

on adult education each state or community should provide for the education of the foreign-born as a part of its regular educational program. Experience has shown that the attendance of foreign folk at night schools has been very irregular, due to overtime work, illness, weariness, discouragement over lack of progress in class, ill-prepared teachers, the childish content of lesson materials, or too long or too late hours for meeting. Funds should be provided by state legislation and a specialized program developed with skilled administrative leadership and teachers. Publicity regarding such course has not been adequate. Every effort should be made to offset these difficulties.

Illiteracy among foreign-born women is at least twice as great as among men. Lacking the knowledge which enables so many of their native-born sisters to limit their families, they are bound to their homes by too numerous little ones. Their children learn English and are ashamed of their "foreign" mothers. If these mothers cannot come to school, then, as is being done in California, groups should be organized in their homes.

"No one reads for pleasure anything which he cannot read easily," says a librarian who has done excellent service among immigrant peoples. Books about America in foreign tongues are few, indeed. In many languages they do not exist. Such books in English must be simple in style from the foreigner's point of view. Small wonder that the reading room of every public library in a foreign community which seeks to minister intelligently to its constituency is packed to the doors! But such libraries are few and far between.

EVERY person, citizen or alien, is theoretically equal before the law in the United States, but "the justice court, at least as it is found operating in the more crowded communities where immigrants are settled in large numbers, cannot be trusted to give the immigrant a square deal. . . . He is less able to protect himself than the native-born, and he will suffer more harmful consequences of a failure of justice," says Kate Holladay Claghorn, in *The Immigrant's Day in Court*. This is of great significance when we remember that the immigrant most often turns to the justice courts for redress of grievances and is more likely to be brought before them for trial of offenses committed. There are no educational qualifications for justices of the peace, hence they are very often not only ignorant of the law, but lacking in general education, unscrupulous, dishonest and under political influence.

Deep-seated prejudices crop out in judges and district attorneys, probation officers and interpreters. The immigrant, ignorant of both our laws and our language, is at the mercy of, and the judge dependent upon, the interpreter, who often is not only incompetent, but ignorant. Interpreters should be examined

¹ Under the immigration law of 1907, a Division of Information was organized which "corresponded with state and town officials and local postmasters, gathered information regarding the resources, products and physical characteristics of each state and territory and established a system of postcard inquiry by which the needs for labor of the various communities could be ascertained periodically." This Division was merged with the U. S. Employment Service and both ceased to function at the close of the war. See Panunzio's *Immigration*, p. 228f.

and paid by the courts, for if the immigrant must pay both interpreter and lawyer the court is practically closed to him. The money cost would be small and the social effect very great. While it is too much to ask that judges and probation officers be of foreign birth or speak even one foreign language, it can rightfully be expected that a judge have a broad sociological and psychological equipment and know something of the history, customs, ideals and aspirations of the racial groups with which he deals.

Immigrants, because of their ignorance, are suspicious of our courts. Experiences in their homelands and those of friends here in our courts add to this mistrust. They are often too poor to employ competent lawyers. Consequently they fall easy victims to shyster lawyers of their own or other nationality groups and to "go-betweens" or "runners" who hang about the courts soliciting trade. Legal aid societies, of which too few foreigners ever learn, are not always equipped with efficient interpreters and feel compelled to refuse certain types of cases which frequently arise among the foreign-born. Many who can afford to pay for legal aid need help in securing reliable lawyers.

Since most immigrants are manual workers, they are almost inevitably embroiled in labor troubles in urban or near-urban centers. In municipal courts in normal times and in large places not controlled by one strong interest, there is usually "a more or less grudging recognition of the foreign worker's right in labor troubles," but, under stress of prolonged strike with the severity of court decisions and the cruelty of police, open hostility develops. The worker becomes convinced that the court and the government are against him.

Since judges usually belong to the middle class they are likely to share middle class prejudices against labor, foreign-born or no. Recently a judge of the United States District Court in Ohio ruled that no one could do union picketing in the coal strike of eastern Ohio "unless he is an American citizen and knows the English language," and a Chicago judge declared to a group of foreign-born, who were peaceably protesting in behalf of the lives of two of their fellows, that "Judges and prosecutors are competent and will do their duty. . . . Those of you who do not like the way this country is conducted can get out and return to your own lands. It is none of your business what is done by the courts of Massachusetts or any other part of the country."

One readily recalls the illegal action of the police department of Cleveland a few years ago when, following a series of murders of Chinese by Chinese, they undertook to arrest all the Chinese in the city, including women and naturalized citizens. Hundreds of them were thrust into a very inadequate jail. Much damage to their businesses resulted. Public-spirited

citizens and churchmen protested and they were released after a day or two, but no apology was ever made to them or to the Chinese government.

It is evident that our court machinery needs overhauling if we are to deal justly with the immigrant. Kate Holladay Claghorn urges that in time of calm we work for a "strictly secured legal procedure, providing for publicity, the right to counsel, and the opportunity for a court review of the facts in the case, not merely to determine jurisdiction, as in habeas corpus proceedings."

While it is not true that the percentage of crime is greater among foreign-born than the native stock, it is true that there is a great increase in crime among their children. Living in crowded tenements with no provision for play, learning English, which causes them to feel superior to their parents, they learn disregard of law from the native-born and try lawbreaking to get the things they see others have. The ideals of their parents may be as good as our best, but children of the foreign-born do not have the safeguards we demand for our own.

THE greatest injustice we do to the foreign-born is, unfortunately, almost unconscious on our part. Regardless of how we classify ourselves religiously, most of us believe in the emphasis which Jesus of Nazareth put upon respect for personality, yet we persistently fail to recognize the contribution the foreign-born have made to us individually and to our national life, when the simple recognition of it would change their attitude and ours. Not only have they contributed enormously to the economic development of the country but even the humblest one has brought with him the rich gifts of beauty expressed in customs, music, folk-lore, folk dances, literature and worship, which our community and national life so sadly lack.

A cultured and refined Czech minister in the mining region of Pennsylvania said, when asked whether his eighteen-year-old son spoke and read the Czech language, "No; he is afraid his high-school friends will call him a 'Hunkie' if he does!" How much richer that boy's life and that of the community would be if he had access to the literary treasures of his ancestral tongue! Yet every family in that community contributed to a gross injustice, born of the lack of respect for the language and cultural heritage of another people whose representatives were, for the time being, in a less fortunate economic position than the community at large.

If the American community could be brought to regard the immigrant as a human being and not "so much industrial manpower, or as so much social dynamite," and take him to itself as a fellow-member with a right to help and sympathy and understanding, we might soon approach the Levitical standard!

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Carib Cannibals on Christianity

The Caribs of the West Indies were cannibals but detested theft and would say when one of them missed something from his hut, "Some Christian has been here!"—*Thorndike, A Short History of Civilization. p. 395.*

The Pious Imperialist

President McKinley tells why he decided to keep the Philippines: "I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came: (1) That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable. (2) That we could not turn them over to France or Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable. (3) That we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government—and they would soon have anarchy and misrule worse than Spain's war. (4) That there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and christianize them as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died."—*C. S. Olcott, Life of William McKinley, II. p. 109.*

A Cablegram Before Prayer

Dewey, c/o American Consul: The President (McKinley) desires to receive from you any important information you may have of the Philippines, the desirability of the several islands, the character of their population, coal and other mineral deposits, their harbor and commercial advantages and in a naval and commercial sense which would be the most advantageous. Allen, Secretary.—*Storey and Lichanco, The Philippines and the United States, p. 13.*

An African Chief Complains to Queen Victoria

Some time ago a party of men came into my country, the principal one appearing to be a man called Rudd. They asked me for a place to dig gold and said they would give me certain things for the right to do so. I told them to bring what they would and I would show them what I would give. A document was written and presented to me for signature. I asked what it contained and was told that in it were my words and the words of those men. I put my hand to it. About three months afterward I heard from other sources that I had given by that document the right to all the minerals of my country.—*Parker T. Moon, Imperialism and World Politics. p. 169.*

National Lawlessness

Not even against a semi-civilized or barbarous state ought civilization to tolerate recourse to lynch law. The use of "the big stick" against a Central American state by the United States, or against an Eastern state by the British Empire, is a procedure as

lawless as the original violence. It can only perpetuate the rule of force in the world.—*Henry Noel Brailsford, Olives of Endless Age, p. 324.*

Nature's Revenge

No people who ever permitted its government to strip another people of its liberty ever saved its own.—*Sterling Edmunds, The Lawless Law of Nations, p. 1.*

Something to Be Ashamed Of

I insist that the organization of life and effort should be undertaken for the service and good of each by all, and Love should express itself not by giving of alms or the building of hospitals or even model dwellings for the poor, but in a stern realization of the fact that to obtain anything for ourselves at the expense of others is something to be ashamed of and is a denial of brotherhood and love.—*George Lansbury, These Things Shall Be, p. 88.*

The Truest Christians

I do not hesitate to say that in my judgment the Quakers are the truest Christians in the modern world.—*Dean Inge, The Church in the World, p. 211.*

Malodorous Democrats

Some of them now ventured to call themselves Democrats—a term as malodorous in the polite circles of Washington's day as Bolshevik in the age of President Harding. . . . Timothy Dwight, president of Yale, stormed and raved. "Shall our sons," he shouted, "become the disciples of Voltaire and the dragoons of Marat; or our daughters the concubines of the Illuminati?" With equal respect for realities, another New England divine declared that Jefferson and his partisans were spreading "the atheistical, anarchical, and in other respects immoral principles of the French Revolution." In his anger he read them all out of polite society: "The editors, patrons and abettors of these vehicles of slander ought to be considered and treated as enemies to their country. . . . Of all traitors they are the most aggravatedly criminal; of all villains they are the most infamous and detestable."—*Chas. A. and Mary Beard, Rise of American Civilization, I, 366, 372.*

Impossible

The vested interests of this world which secure profits from unrighteousness, and produce, from the toil and poverty of many, fortune, ease and graceful environment for some, will always be found assuming that Jesus Christ is impossible; and when they allow the mention of His Name in prayer and praise, it is not He who is remembered, but some more possible, but more imaginary figure, who will never interfere with their gains. The powers of this world, founded upon force and forging ever more perfect weapons of death, will always dismiss Him as impossible. And even when they inscribe His Cross upon their banners, they will succeed in forgetting why He went to the Cross. The whole structure of society, built upon greed, glorifying material wealth, fortifying the rich, balking and browbeating the poor, will assume that Jesus Christ is impossible.—*Peck, Divine Revolution, p. 123.*

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Findings" from which we may make selections for future issues.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Restless China

I RECOMMEND Scott Nearing's book *Whither China*¹ for all British and American business men in China. Their blood pressure would rise perceptibly with each chapter and perhaps the book would eventually be hurled at the head of some obstreperous coolie. But some of the facts would stick. And they are important facts stated with that clarity and power which have made Scott Nearing one of the best platform educators in the country.

Mr. Nearing's book arouses mixed emotions. Perhaps I am jealous, because I wanted to write a book about China something like this, but didn't have the nerve to do it without the collaboration of a Chinese scholar and, when it came to a pinch, the Chinese scholar had to retire from his fact-finding, because of the danger of losing his head. Nearing simply substituted the New York Public Library for the Chinese scholar and went ahead. He makes no bones about it at all. He doesn't pretend to know much about China from first hand sources. He got most of his facts in America, went to China and added some local color. Considering these limitations the book is exceedingly well done. It gathers into a compact summary the economic facts which make imperialism in China a reality.

Nearing's thinking is nearly all concerned with the pattern of world revolution. He tries to fit China into that pattern. "Evidently it is impossible," he says, "for journalists and scholars who regard capitalist society as an end-product to fathom the changes that are now taking place in Asia."

In his concluding chapter he becomes prophetic. "No sooner will the United States have settled her account with John Bull by crushing the British Empire, as it must inevitably do in the next general war, than it will find itself facing a new and more dangerous rivalry—a rivalry of races and cultures as well as of economic interests. A Eurasian bloc, inspired by the Soviet Union, headed by an organized armed China and with Japan as a subordinate but powerful member, two-thirds of the world's population and a vast portion of its wealth, committed to principles of economic cooperation, but willing and eager to defend itself against the arrogance and predatory ruthlessness of the last two of the Great Empires."

I don't like Scott Nearing when he gets into this millennialist mood. No scientist should skate on such prophetic ice. And besides I don't think Japan can be counted on to line up with the Orient and Russia; her place, I fear, is with the banker nations of the West.

Probably no journalist in the world is better prepared to write about Chinese affairs than Thomas F. Millard, formerly of the *New York Times*, then of the *World*. When he was dropped from the staff of the *Times* last year and the panic communiques of Frederick Moore were substituted, a storm of protest came from *Times* readers. Many people got the impression that Millard was a radical, a sympathizer with Russian policy in China and

a martyr to his honest friendship for Chinese Nationalism. Whatever may be the truth about his departure from the *Times*, Millard is no radical. He is a steady-headed, old-fashioned liberal who refuses to be absorbed by the arrogant and stupid British colonials of Shanghai. To these Colonials he seems a "red," but to me he seems at times harsh and unfair to the left wing of the Kuomintang. If Scott Nearing idealizes communists in China, Millard seems to veer in the other direction.

But who am I to criticize Millard? He is the dean of them all, and his book shows it. It is packed with the first hand knowledge of a man who has lived twenty-five years in the Far East. If I could invest in only one recent book on China it would be his *China—Where It is Today and Why*.²

PAUL BLANSHARD

Goosestepping Young Americans

"WE live in a world governed by Divine laws which we can neither alter nor evade. And in this world of ours force is the ultimate power." This quotation is one of seven that begin a pamphlet by Roswell P. Barnes, issued by the Committee on Militarism in Education, entitled *Militarizing Our Youth*. Needless to say, the words are not those of Mr. Barnes. They represent the sentiments of a militaristic mind. Quotation number two is as follows: "Between States the only check on injustice is force, and in morality and civilization each people must play its own part and promote its own ends and ideals." One of these quotations is from *Germany and the Next War*, by Friedrich von Bernhardi; the other is from one of the manuals of the American Reserve Officers Training Corps. Which is which? I refuse to tell. You will find the answer in this stimulating pamphlet.

Mr. Barnes's ability to catch the attention and start thought is extraordinary. And the facts he adduces are in themselves sufficiently startling once his technique lures you to their honest consideration. A new and determined drive is revealed on the part of the War Department and superpatriots to reach the youth of the United States with ideas and "discipline" which is sheer militarism according to the dictionary definition—which Mr. Barnes is astute enough to cite. "In a fifteen year period," says the pamphlet, "(up to the last available statistics) federal expenditures for military training in civil schools have increased from \$725,168 to \$10,696,504, a fifteen-fold increase; the number of institutions giving such training, from 57 to 223, a four-fold increase; the army personnel detailed to conduct the training, from 85 to 1,809, an eighteen-fold increase; the number of students enrolled, from 29,979 to 119,914, a four-fold increase."

Thoroughly documented throughout, and conservatively stated

¹ International Publishers, \$1.75.

² Harcourt, Brace and Co., \$2.75.

rather than exaggerated, the amazing number of facts packed into these 48 pages are vividly impressive, and, I think, not to be challenged. Despite its careful accuracy, the pamphlet does not make the fatal fallacy of assuming that mere facts, unaccompanied by vigorous interpretation, will move any mountains or rouse anyone from inertia. It is truly a compendium of what one needs to know in order to understand a great public issue; and it reads more easily than 99% of serious pamphlets. It is an admirable piece of work, fittingly introduced by Professor John Dewey. It may be obtained for 10c, or 15 for \$1.00, from the Committee at Room 387, Bible House, Astor Place, New York City.

D. A.

Light on the Soviets

MORE than ten years have passed since the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) was formed. During most of that time the American people fully expected the Soviets to fall. But of late so many reports have been coming from such a variety of sources testifying to the stability and permanency of that government that everyone seems to be asking questions about Russia. The flood of deliberately false propaganda that has formed the basis of our so-called knowledge of the Soviet experiment is at last giving way before new articles and books galore which are based upon carefully gathered data and which seek to convey the truth to those who want it.

Of especial value is the series of thirteen little volumes just now coming from the Vanguard Press. *The Economic Organization of the Soviet Union* by Scott Nearing and Jack Hardy answers such questions as these: How do the Russians earn their living under the Soviet system? How is the Soviet machinery owned? Is there private capital there now and how much? What are the relations between employers and workers? Are the workers organized? How? Is the Soviet system speeding up or slowing down? Is the trend toward socialism or capitalism?

Nowhere else has the writer of this review seen such a compact and informative summary of the fundamental principles underlying the Soviet economic organization: "The socialization of all basic productive forces such as land, mines, railroads, factories; the organization and direction of productive forces on a unified scientific plan; the elimination of private profit and the social use of all economic surplus; universal obligation of all able-bodied adults to render some productive or useful service; active participation by the workers in the direction of economic life; the widest possible provision among all who render productive and useful service of food, clothing, shelter, health service, education, recreation, and cultural opportunity; the abolition of the exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist society and the victory of socialism in all lands."

Another volume that will repay careful reading is *How the Soviets Work*, by H. N. Brailsford. He takes a typical factory like the "Three Hills Textile Factory" in Moscow and describes every phase of it in detail so that you know what the life of the average workman in Russia is like. Perhaps the most illuminating chapter in this volume, from our point of view, is the one on "The Communist Party." Why is it that one and a quarter million Communists can so easily dominate the other one hundred thirty-nine million people? Why have they taken vows of mutual poverty? Why is it so difficult to stay in after you get there? These

and many other questions find an answer in this interesting chapter by a man who has had many direct contacts with party men in the U.S.S.R.

Eighty per cent of the Russian people are peasants. *Village Life Under the Soviets*, by Karl Borders, deals with the all-important rural problems that face the Soviets. The author has spent three years there since the Revolution, first as a Quaker relief worker and later with the Russian Reconstruction Farms. Much of the book rests upon personal observation and experience. In this description of "A Village Election," for example, Mr. Borders was present at the election at Moscow Kut in 1926 and even voted, inasmuch as all resident workers of the country above the age of eighteen are eligible to vote whether citizens of Russia or not.

The chapter on "The Tractor and Collective Agriculture" is a revealing one on the various types of collective enterprises that are to be found operating in the rural Russia of today and there are other chapters on such subjects as Government Education and Aid in Agriculture, Village Trade, Politics, and Social and Cultural Activities.

These little books should go far toward helping to inform truth seeking Americans relative to this gigantic social experiment in the largest, richest country in the world. (The three books are published by Vanguard Press, 50 cents each.)

L. L. DUNNINGTON.

More Essays on Religion

"RELIGION is almost as difficult to define as life, because, like art, it springs out of the whole life of man; and our very conception of religion must depend upon our conception of the life of man. There is a religious conception of life—namely, that it has a purpose and is life because it has this purpose. According to that conception, man can be explained only in terms of what he is trying to become and not in terms of his origins. Religion is his effort to make this purpose clearer to himself; and at the same time to fulfill it more consciously. It is thought and feeling and conduct; all aiming at the expression and at the fulfillment of this purpose; and the purpose is what gives unity to all manifestations."

This long quotation from Arthur Clutton-Brock's *More Essays on Religion* is justified by its clearness and lack of stereotyped language and figures of speech. The whole volume is absorbing because of its freshness and fearlessness of approach. Clutton-Brock, trained in literature and art, gave serious attention to religion in his later years and brought to his essays on religion the understanding and beauty of these two realms of life experience.

This collection of papers is made up almost entirely of reprinted pieces. They cover the years from 1903 to 1920. And in those years came the World War. In two references in the volume Clutton-Brock, a Britisher, confused by events of the days, tries to understand the German attitudes. From this distance his efforts to be fair seem weak and biased. It is fair to point these out because his efforts were far beyond the understanding of most writers in those days and because, had he lived, his penetrating mind would have seen through his error and he would have made wiser statements in later papers.

This slim book is thought provoking and stimulating. It is a worthy companion to his "Essays in Religion," which were published in 1925. (Published by E. P. Dutton, \$2).

A. A. S.

The Legacy of Israel

DURING the next dozen years the burning question in New Testament criticism is likely to be the relationship of Judaism to Christianity. A literature upon this subject of great interest and power has been accumulating in recent years principally through the work of Jewish scholars. The questions raised by these discussions have been made even more acute through the appearance last spring of Professor George F. Moore's great work on Judaism. Into this stream of inquiry, so rapidly increasing in volume, enters *The Legacy of Israel*.¹ Its purpose, it is true, is not apologetic. It is written in an historical or, perhaps better, a humanistic interest, as are the other volumes in this delightful series. Nevertheless, it will do its part toward compelling a reappraisal of the contributions made by Judaism to Western culture.

It is a happy omen that in this symposium both Jewish and Christian scholars of the very first rank have united in the attempt to define more precisely the Legacy of Israel. The essays fall into two main groups, those which treat of the debt which Western civilization owes to the Scriptures of Ancient Israel and those which define the debt it owes to Judaism as that has developed in the Christian era. The main interest of the volume is probably to be found in the latter group of essays, as they treat of a subject less familiar to the average reader. I shall, therefore, only refer by name to the suggestive essays of Sir George Adam Smith on "The Hebrew Genius as Exhibited in the Old Testament," of Professor Burkitt's on "The Debt of Christianity to Judaism" through retention of the Old Testament by the Christian Church, and the influence of the early Jewish versions upon textual criticism of Principal Selbie's "Influence of the Old Testament Upon Puritanism" (the unfortunate rather than the helpful elements in this influence especially emphasized), of Professor Meillet's "Influence of the Hebrew Bible on European Languages," and Mr. Laurie Magnus's "The Legacy of Modern Literature" (two charming little studies).

The second group of Essays comprises the following: "The Influence of Judaism Upon Islam," by Professor Guillaume (informative as to the really immense influence which Judaism exerted upon the younger religion), "The Influence of Judaism Upon Western Law," by Professor N. Isaacs of Harvard, "The Influence of Judaism Upon Jews in the Period from Hillel to Mendelssohn," by R. Travers Herford, the essay on "The Jewish Factor in Medieval Thought," by Dr. Singer and Dorothea Singer, supplemented by the two following studies on "Hebrew Scholarship in the Middle Ages Among Latin Christians," by Dr. Singer, and "Hebrew Studies in the Reformation and After," by Canon Box, the fine study on "Hellenistic Judaism," by Professor Bevan, and the "Epilogue," by Claude Montefiore.

The Epilogue of Mr. Montefiore is admittedly in the nature of an apology, but it is apologetic in the candid, winning way so characteristic of this genial writer. Does Israel have a further contribution to make? Mr. Montefiore believes it has, especially in its theistic view of life and its frank acceptance of divine law as a regulative principle of human life. At this point the Old Covenant and the New may yet coöperate. "If the maxim 'thy service is perfect freedom' is Christian, then such Christianity is the purest Judaism" (p. 522).

Attention must be called, in closing, to the remarkable series of eighty-three illustrations which accompany the text of the volume. Together, they form a little museum of extraordinary

interest and value. A glossary helps the reader to understand a number of technical Hebrew terms which cannot be avoided in such a work.

KEMPER FULLERTON.

Cultural Evolution

PROFESSOR CHARLES A. ELLWOOD is well known to American readers as the author of several excellent books in the field of psychological sociology, as well as of "Reconstruction in Religion," a notable effort to indicate the place of a modernized Christianity in the present social order. His *Cultural Evolution* is a clear and orderly introduction to the subject of the development of the various phases of human culture. The earlier chapters are devoted to certain basic theoretical issues, such as the distinction between social and cultural evolution, the dissociation of cultural from organic evolution, the methodology of the cultural point of view in sociology, and the leading theories of cultural evolution. The author then passes on to consider the evolution of physical tools, the food process, agriculture, war, clothing, housing, the fine arts, property, the family, law and government, morality, religion, education and science. The treatment of each subject is necessarily brief, but the salient points are well established.

The most valuable aspect of the book is its inculcation of the developmental principle or evolutionary outlook in all phases of our cultural life. It removes evolution from identification with the realm of biology and applies it to the whole field of culture, thus indicating that the conception is far more than the assertion of man's affinity with the simian world. It is a book well adapted to the function of establishing the evolutionary concept as a basic element in contemporary thinking, both on account of its inclusive nature and wide sweep, on the one hand, and its moderation of tone, on the other. Professor Ellwood is an informed social scientist, but at the same time a devout man. Hence, his book ought to be of special utility in aiding teachers to secure acceptance for the evolutionary point of view where public opinion or educational attitudes are sensitive on this point. It will also be found very serviceable in courses in the new branch of cultural sociology. Whether the curious parabolic graphs of cultural development will be found of much use or validity may well be doubted. (Published by the Century Co., \$2.50.)

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

An Epic of Norway

IT'S never too late to recommend Sigrid Undset's trilogy of Thirteenth-century Norway, *The Bridal Wreath*, *Mistress of Husaby*, and *The Cross*. In the three volumes, not only the story of Kristin Lavransdatter is told with an insight and sympathy that make her story applicable to any woman in any setting in any age, but the political, economic, social, and religious life of the period is woven about her vivid central figure like the background of a rich, detailed tapestry. The first volume tells of her fiery, rebellious girlhood and marriage, the second of her mature and dominating wifehood and motherhood, the third of her reluctant relinquishment of power and final acceptance of sorrow and old age. Through her infinite capacity for living, Kristin meets every experience of woman from deepest tragedy to highest joy. And Sigrid Undset through her infinite capacity for expression and understanding of the human heart makes of them an epic, outstanding in scope and drama, in the literature of the Twentieth-century. (Published by Knopf, \$3 per volume.) V. K.

¹ Published by the Oxford University Press. \$4.

Present Day Religion

THEY can't leave it alone. Religion, after all, is much like drink in its effect on those who take it; although, one should hasten to add, with a more salutary after effect. With drink, when some people have imbibed sufficiently, they develop an excess of dignity, urbanity and punctiliousness. That type in religion is well represented by Dr. Charles W. Gilkey in his *Cole Lectures* delivered in Vanderbilt University under the title *Present-Day Dilemmas in Religion*. Balanced, even, charmingly written, these essays tie together conceptions that so often have been made the rallying cry of extremists at opposite poles. Both . . . and is the touchstone with which he resolves the antagonisms of the new and the old, outward service and inner renewal, definition and symbol, the individual and the group. And if the book does resemble an anthology from the wealth of quotation in it, at least the selections are wisely chosen and illuminating. Everyone will be happy when he has read it.

Dr. Herbert Parrish doesn't take his religion so steadily. In fact, he really gets lit up, and in his *A New God for America* he lays about him with a free hand and a twinkle in his eye just like a Mencken in a clerical collar. Protestantism baits him and he shows up its weakness unmercifully, but Roman Catholic obscurantism repels him too. It is a mood of impatience with existing religious forms, illuminated with flashes of deep insight into contemporary conditions. It is a book that will stir up not only controversy but some real thinking. (Published by Cokesbury Press, \$1.50—Published by The Century Co., \$2.)

PAUL JONES.

Some Younger Sociologists Speak

FIVE collaborators, Professor L. L. Bernard, Seba Eldridge, Frank H. Hankins, Ellsworth Huntington, and M. M. Willey, have collaborated in preparing *An Introduction to Sociology. A behavioristic study of American Society*, edited by Jerome Davis and Harry Elmer Barnes. Professor Barnes leads off this comprehensive work with a succinct discussion of the evolution of "the great society," in which he treats of the origins of man and human culture, the development first of primitive society, then of civilization in the Orient, and last of Occidental civilization. Professor Huntington follows with a discussion of the influence of the soil, of climate, and of rural versus urban districts. The evolutionary viewpoint, fecundity, natural selection, heredity, and the origin and significance of races are themes analyzed by Professor Hankins. The sequence is followed up by Professor Bernard, who writes of such psycho-sociological factors as the remaking of human behavior, conflict and readjustment of attitudes in personality, group contacts and controls, and leadership. The social heritage, culture patterns, and the diffusion of culture are the themes handled by Professor Willey. The factors, processes, and problems of social organization are presented by Professor Eldridge, while the ensemble is rounded by Professor Davis with a treatment of social problems, such as the home, recreation, poverty, crime, racial and industrial conflicts.

The mere recital of some of the major topics indicates the wide range of thought to which the reader is introduced. While a certain amount of overlapping is unavoidable in a book of this kind, a general uniformity of style, point of view, and of insight has been secured by the editors. In this "joint creative product of many minds," a remarkable freshness of treatment, briskness of style, and breadth of thought have been attained. All the writers

belonged to the younger school of sociologists, and as such have produced an up-to-date volume.

The term "behavioristic" in the sub-title may be somewhat misleading, for the word is not used in the sense which is represented by behaviorist school of psychologists, but rather in a more general way. The bases for educing sociological principles are well stated; it now remains for these principles to be formulated. The volume is readable and stimulating for the college student and general public. (Published by D. C. Heath, \$4.50.)

EMORY S. BOGARDUS.

Tragedy

REBEKAH is her name. Bertie is her sister. Around these two women Olive Schreiner has woven one of the most tragically beautiful stories I have ever read.

The scene is South Africa. Bertie is a pathetic figure. On a lonely farm she hungers for affection. In innocence she offers herself to her tutor. He then flees. Later she becomes engaged to her cousin. When she tells him of her former love, he spurns her as a sinner. Gossip does the rest. In desperation she runs off to London with an old Jew who is on his way back from the diamond mines. Finally he turns her out on the street. She dies in a brothel.

Rebekah is one of the noblest characters in literature. The man she marries is of small caliber. Things and sensations he sought. Chiefly women. Finally he seduces the black servant girl. A child is born. The husband does not know or care what becomes of his half-breed daughter. Rebekah adopts Sartje and gives her the same care as is bestowed upon her own four sons.

Two chapters will remain in my mind as long as I live: "Rain-drops in the Avenue" and "How the Rain Rains in London." For penetrating insight into the meaning and purpose of life, the former has few equals. For sheer tragedy the latter is unsurpassed. Meditation upon these pages will enable you better to understand yourself. (From *Man to Man*, by Olive Schreiner, published by Harper's, \$2.50.)

K. P.

Politics and Economics

WE go to war primarily because politics lag behind economics. Political policies usually rest on the assumption of independence, whereas economic practices have created interdependence. The result is chaos, anarchy, rivalry, hatred, crises, war. How can this vicious chain of events be broken? It is to this question that Francis Delaisi has devoted himself in the volume *Political Myths and Economic Realities*.

The author traces the history of several important myths, such as the feudal myth, the papal myth, the monarchical myth and the democratic myth—and shows how they have risen and fallen. The myth of nationality is treated in great fullness. Nearly seventy pages are then given to a consideration of the economic interdependence of the nations. The effort to prolong nationalistic myth in a world of financial and industrial interdependence has led to many wars and will do so again unless abandoned. The conditions of permanent peace are discussed in an illuminating fashion, including a general return to a metallic unit, free circulation of capital, free circulation of goods, economic arbitration by the International Chamber of Commerce, social arbitration by the International Labor Office, political arbitration by the League of Nations. (Published by The Viking Press, \$4.)

K. P.

BETTER BOOKS for ALL-ROUND READING

A Side-light on Anglo-American Relations 1839-1858, by Annie Heloise Abel and Frank J. Klingberg. Washington: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1927. 9½ x 6¾. 407 pages. \$2.15. New light on the campaign against slavery, based on letters by Lewis Tappan and others with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

India's Past, by A. A. Macdonell. London, Oxford University Press, 1927. 7¾ x 5. 293 pages. 10s. This survey of India's literatures, religions, languages, and antiquities is commended to all those who want to feel the background of that olden land. Wish Katherine Mayo would read it! But then. . .

The Politics of Grace, by George M. Ll. Davies. London, The Fellowship of Reconciliation. Pamphlet. 56 pages. 6d. A finely written and deep-delving study of the application of good-will to practical life issues.

Nicaragua and the United States, 1909-1927, by Isaac Joslin Cox. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1927. Pamphlet. 8 x 5½. 188 pages. 30 cents. A superbly well-documented study, invaluable to anyone who wishes the background of the present imbroglio. The study does not include, however, the background of Sandino; there is no record or estimate of Nicaraguan non-combatants killed by our bombs; and the Sandinistas are referred to as "bandits."

Misleaders of Labor, by William Z. Foster. Chicago: Trade Union Educational League, 1927. Paper: 7¾ x 5¼. 336 pages. \$1.25. Here's a chance to get the communist criticism of "regular" labor leadership and policy, set forth cogently and with polemic fire.

The Lordly Ones, by B. H. Lehman. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1927. 5 x 7. 290 pages. \$2. A novel of which the first half is extremely well done. I have a feeling that the author took a larger bite than he could gracefully manipulate.

Animal Stories the Indians Told, by Elizabeth Bishop Johnson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1927. 5 x 7½. 148 pages. \$2. A slim volume of short stories about Indian customs, gods, heroes, hunting and adventure. Some are very old. All selected for this book are about animals and are here given just as Indians told them to white men.

The Hepzibah Hen Book, by Olwen Bowen. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927. 8¾ x 6. 136 pages. \$2.00. An unusually appealing series of tales about whimsical barnyard personalities that young children really like—we know it for a fact.

The Charm of Birds, by Viscount Grey of Fallodon. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1927. 8½ x 5½. 286 pages. \$3.00. Also the charm of Grey, who is a delightful interpreter and close observer. Why didn't the man confine himself to ornithology and stay out of politics?

Gay-Neck: the Story of a Pigeon, by Dhan Gopal Mukerji. New York: Dutton. 1927. 5¼ x 7¾. 197 pages. \$2.25. The private and public life of a carrier trained in India and his service in the World War.

Homemaking as a Center for Research. The Report of the Teachers College Conferences on Homemaking. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Univer-

sity. 1927. 6 x 9. 122 pages. \$1.50. The conferences brought together experts on household arts, homemakers, students, educators, engineers, architects, commercial leaders, psychologists, economists and representatives of other professions to discuss the problems of homemaking.

The Private Diary of Leo Tolstoy, 1853-1857, edited by Aylmer Maude. Translated by Louise and Aylmer Maude. New York: Doubleday Page. 1927. 5 x 8. 256 pages. \$4. A psychological cross-section, naive and intimate, of Tolstoy's awakening to his opportunities, responsibilities, and deficiencies as writer, landholder, pacifist, and man.

Bugles In the Night, by Barry Benefield. New York: Century. 1927. 5 x 7½. 309 pages. \$2. If this doesn't prove a best seller, we're a tabloid! All the old sweet hokum but retold with such originality of setting, character, and situation, that the last page is read through the well-known mist of happy tears.

The Story of Geology, by Allan L. Benson. New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. 1927. 9¼ x 6. 297 pages. \$4. A journalist not an expert, puts out a popular volume. Therefore a dud? Not on your life.

American Poetry, 1927, by sixteen poets. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co. 1927. 7¾ x 5¼. 304 pages. \$2.50. Coöperatively edited by the poets, who range from Robert Frost to Carl Sandburg in variety, here are 147 poems never before issued in a volume; the result being not only vastly interesting but of exceptionally well-sustained excellence. Verse that really bites into you.

More Power to You, by Evelyn Preston. New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Ave. 1927. Leaflet. 16 pages. Five cents. No public question now looms larger than power and superpower. Here are facts, facts which are vital, but which will not, alas, be made known through the usual channels of political propaganda. And, too, good writing! You can get 25 copies for \$1.

Jataka Tales Out of Old India, retold by Marguerite Aspinwall. New York: Putnam. 1927. 5¼ x 8¼. 239 pages. \$1.75. Why do people whose lives point a moral seem poisonous to us, while the monkey, elephant, tortoise, and woodpecker personified in the same situations in fables delight us? Especially so, in this collection.

Lazarus Laughed, by Eugene O'Neill. New York: Boni-Liveright. 1927. 5½ x 8½. 179 pages. \$2.50. A powerful myth play. The conflict between the returned Lazarus proclaiming that, though men may die, for Man death is only an illusion, and Tiberius and Caligula, whose power depends on men's belief in and fear of death, ironically yet pitifully depicted.

God Got One Vote, by Frederick Hazlett Brennan. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1927. 5½ x 7¾. 381 pages. \$2.50. From hod-carrier to state political boss—the sophisticate's version of the Horatio Alger plot, "From Newsboy to President"—a convincing study of how and why home-made politicians get that way.

My Life, by Isadora Duncan. New York: Boni-Liveright. 1927. 5 x 7¾. 359 pages. \$5. Isadora's struggle to find beauty and freedom in a world of conventions—like nothing so much, both in content and style, as a turbulent mountain torrent forcing its way between walled cliffs to the sea.

Black Cobra, by Harry Hervey. New York: Cosmopolitan. 1927. 6 x 9. 301 pages. \$4. A sensitive, beautifully told autobiography of travel and travail in French Indo-China, where life and nature riot over the ruins of a civilization.

Spring Mind Cleaning

THE accumulated warming thoughts generated for comfort and safety during the winter need turning out to the spring breezes. The fire-side platitudes with the lounging robe and felt slippers ought to be hung on the line in the sun. It is essential that mental house plants be put out into the intellectual rains if they are to sprout with new life. It is time for overhauling the mind lagging with winter coma.

The spring breezes necessary to the mind have sharp edges; it takes courage to step out into the shelterless path of changing ideas, additional information and new and unexplored fields of thought. It is much easier to dodge back into the theories "that were good enough for father and are therefore good enough for me." But there are freedom and life for those whose minds are sturdy enough to slough off old pet ideas, private prejudices and fear complexes—and to venture forth to buffet with premises sometimes so fantastic that those of us experimenting seem queer and out of joint with the rest of the world.

A spring wind frolics through woods and fields dispersing dead leaves, uprooting dead bush and vegetation and hurling things violently out of its path. In its wake are beauty and life—uncovered by violent effort, freed to breathe and live. So it is with new understanding, the effort to dig it out is frequently a mighty one and possible only to minds willing to strain for it. It is to those sturdy minds we appeal. With renewed vigor we shall endeavor to bring to our readers light in the fields of international relations, economics, race relations and religion. We believe there is new knowledge in the articles we are running this spring:

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THE AMERICAN DISCOVERY OF RUSSIA—SUMMER OF 1928

The two greatest nations on the earth no longer know each other. Volumes have been written. But in the past ten years a mere handful of American social workers, writers and business men has seen revolutionary Russia at work. Still fewer Russians have visited this country, and the American who goes into Russia today is something more than a tourist.

Last summer two parties of American students and intellectual workers, men and women, were enabled to visit Russia through the instrumentality of the National Student Federation of America and the Open Road. They were received by the Society of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Sovtorgflot. The same organizations are again welcoming a few groups. Each will comprise eight members under the leadership of an informed American, and will be accompanied in Russia by a Russian interpreter.

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ESCAPING.

Laughter—Loud and Prolonged

"LOUD LAUGHTER!" Ask Jerome Davis when the *Christian Advocate* became "one of the more liberal Methodist periodicals?" And why should he quote Woolever as being the mouthpiece for that paper. Tell Jerome Davis to go down to the study of most any Methodist preacher and find out what's going on in the *Christian Advocate*; why Woolever is in Washington; and how much of his page in the *Advocate* is read? Ask Luccock all about it. Look over your files of the *Christian Advocate* and find out just what's going on at 150 Fifth Avenue. I must repeat, "Laughter, loud and prolonged." On the whole, nevertheless, Davis is right. But we simply don't expect these things of Joy or Woolever. Luccock is a different proposition. What did he write?

Cuba, N. Y.

CHARLES H. M. WHELAN.

Why Are We at War?

Newspapers report unusual activities on the part of our armed forces. We read of occupations, skirmishes, battles and airplane bombings. Officially or not, the United States is at war. Who authorized these wars? Who profits by these wars? Do the American people favor these wars? At last the complete story of these illegal wars is now available.

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Denmark and the U. S.

THE article in your April issue by J. E. Kirkpatrick, entitled "Where Farmers and Laborers Unite," would be more instructive if in place of the pleasant generalizations of farm and labor conditions in Denmark, it had given a few details for illustration and comparison with similar conditions in the United States. Denmark is singularly favored with respect to markets for its farm products, which it sells at the front door, so to speak, for good prices and at low transportation cost to Hamburg, Bremen, Altona, and London—representing over 10,000,000 population in addition to its own home market of 3,000,000. Nowhere else in the world exist such favorable market conditions for farm products. Why should the farmer, even with only ordinarily good management on his farm, not prosper?

Then about wages: How do they compare with those in the United States?

Are the masons, carpenters, and painters who put up houses for the Danish farmers able to extract from them \$10 to \$15 per day, as they do from our farmers?

And does common farm labor get \$40 to \$60 per month with board, as they do in the United States? This cannot well be, since Danish dairy products are profitably sold in New York in spite of prohibitory duty.

Have the farmer and his wife in Denmark obtained the benefit and leisure of eight-hour labor equally with the building trades?

How does it come that Danish schools teach their youth the pride of free men and eagerness for useful work, while our schools breed contempt for manual labor?

G. L.

Pennsylvania R.R. Station, N. Y.

A Most Helpful Article

THE article on "Sex and the Marriage Relationship" in your March number was the boldest, frankest, and most helpful thing along that line I have ever seen. It took nerve to publish that, but it raised THE WORLD TOMORROW a great deal in my estimation.

L. L. DUNNINGTON

Minneapolis, Minn.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A New People's College

DR. J. E. KIRKPATRICK and his friends have taken over the old Ashland Folk High School near Grand Rapids, Mich., for the purposes of adult education. The summer session will be held from July 30 to September 8. The following problems will be discussed: Sex, marriage, and the home; occupations; community life; leisure and play; education; religion.

N. A. A. C. P. Convention

THE 19th Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will meet at Los Angeles, Cal., June 27-July 3. Special railroad reductions make this an attractive vacation prospect.

The Mexican Seminar

HUBERT C. HERRING will again take a party to Mexico this summer to study the country and its problems from July 5-26. Further information may be had from the Director at 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

VOX STUDENTIUM

International Student Magazine

published 9 times yearly from October to July by

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VOX STUDENTIUM is the monthly magazine published by International Student Service.

ITS PURPOSE is to further international contacts and understanding among students of all countries, by enlisting their co-operation in practical enterprises for the assistance of their fellows, and by promoting mutual study and inter-change of ideas.

IT NOW SEEKS the co-operation of its readers in considering the possibilities of an international student journal, by announcing an

ESSAY COMPETITION:

The Function of an International Student Journal and a project for its realization

CONDITIONS OF THE COMPETITION:

1. THE COMPETITION IS OPEN to all regular and occasional students of a university or college, as well as to graduates of such institutions, regardless of national, religious or other affiliations, who have already entered their subscription for "Vox Studentium" for one year, or who do so before the close of the competition.

2. THE ESSAY MAY BE WRITTEN in English, French or German, and must not exceed 1500 words (about six typewritten pages). It is to be addressed to:

Vox Essay Competition, International Student Service,
5, Rond-Point de Plainpalais, Geneva, Switzerland,
and must arrive in the office by noon, August 1st, 1928.

We fully realize that this gives longer time to students of those countries which are nearer Geneva, but since this is inevitable in any case, we hope that the three months allowed for the most remote countries will be found adequate.

3. THE PRIZE of 500 Swiss francs (\$100.00: £20.—) will be awarded to the author of the essay adjudged best both from the point of view of its presentation of the function of an international student organ, and its suggestion of a practicable project. In the case of two equally good essays submitted, the prize will be divided between them.

4. THE JURY will consist of four members of the International Student Service Executive Committee, and the following persons:

M. Fernand MAURETTE, Chief of the Scientific Division, International Labour Office.

Dame Rachel CROWDY, Chief of Opium and Social Questions Section, League of Nations.

Dr. MANTOUX, Director of the University Institute for Higher International Studies, Geneva.

Herr Von SCHMIEDEN, Gesandtschaftsrat, Member of the Secretariat, League of Nations.

5. COMPETITORS MAY WRITE UNDER PSEUDONYM if they so wish, accompanying their essay with a sealed envelope containing their full name and address, and record of the college which they attend or have attended. TWO COPIES of the essay must be submitted, and in case a pseudonym is used, a statement of the fact that the contestant is a subscriber to "Vox Studentium."

6. THE PRIZE-WINNING ESSAY will become the property of International Student Service, who will reserve rights of publication.

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Taylor Hall, Racine, Wisconsin.....August 1-14

Estes Park, Colorado.....August 19-31

The discussions in both Conferences will center around the problems growing out of: *The Relation of the Individual to the Group* (first week) and *The Struggle for Power* (second week). A goodly number of persons having special knowledge and experience will be present to share in all discussions. The program will be built from session to session.

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Community Church Conference

THE National Conference of the Community Church Workers will meet at Mountain Lakes, N. J., May 15-17, fifteen minutes from New York City. Among the speakers on important subjects are listed John Nevin Sayre, Mrs. Jeannette W. Emrich, John Milton Moore, Paul Jones, and Albert Parker Fitch.

A Conference at Cambridge, England

VISITORS to England this summer will be interested to learn of the Congress of the International Association for the Study and Improvement of Human Relations and Conditions in Industry. This first meeting will be held at Girton College, Cambridge, England, from June 28 to July 3. The subject under discussion will be "The Fundamental Relationships between all Sections of the Industrial Community." Mary Van Kleeck, 130 East 22d St., New York City, is Council Member from the United States.

A Correction

BOULDER DAM is not planned for Boulder, Colo., as was stated in "Not in the Headlines" of the April WORLD TOMORROW. If built it will stand in the Boulder Canyon, which forms part of the boundary between Arizona and Nevada.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE WORLD TOMORROW, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1928.

State of New York, } ss:
County of New York, }
Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Lee Ginter, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business assistant of THE WORLD TOMORROW, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of the form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher, The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Editors, Kirby Page, Devere Allen, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. Managing Editor, Agnes A. Sharp; Business Assistant, Lee Ginter.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. (a non-stock corporation); John Nevin Sayre, 104 East Ninth St., N. Y., President; Vice-President, none; Caroline B. La Monte, Secretary, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Kenneth E. Walser, Treasurer, 67 Wall St., N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; and that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is..... (This information is required from daily publications only.)

LEE GINTER,
Business Assistant.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of March, 1928.

(Signed) DOLPH MELOSH,

Notary Public,

New York Co., N. Y.

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co. No. 353; N. Y. County Register's No. 9110
(My commission expires: March 31st, 1929.)

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The Last Page

A LONG with the diseases which on occasion tormented my childhood; with the black eyes, smashed fingers, bad dreams, and humiliating turn-downs from beauteous maids—it is with such experiences that I class Miss (I shall call her) Hardlot. She it was who came to teach us in the seventh and eighth grades. Old Miss Adkins had been severe when driven to it, but nobody can be wholly feared whose secret desk drawer contains slippery elm and cinnamon bark which she chews with ill-concealed addiction.

There was no weak spot in Miss Hardlot's armor. She powdered, to be sure, in an age when that fact was enough to cause raised eyebrows, and sometimes raised voices, among female parents; but her powder was laid on far too thick for beauty's sake, and seemed rather to be ghastly war paint. How it sifted from her ears when she shook her head in the manner no other could equal for machine-like snappiness!

With such a conscientious arrogance was she endowed that from the first five minutes matters settled down to a death grapple for supremacy. Like a trumpet heralding an irreconcilable conflict was her handling of our beloved Bud. Bud, at the age of twelve, was the very apotheosis of prosperous good nature. Under the influence of his father's small-city barbershop, with its abundance of genial if not always carefully selected humor, and with the sunny literature of *Puck*, *Judge*, and *Life* as a foil for the *Police Gazette*, Bud had taken on a portly frame and a perennial grin which had never been known to tauten for a single moment into sternness, or even the vacillating neutrality characteristic of average humans.

Bud actually liked school; and under the stimulus of friendly surroundings and the added interest of a new teacher, his smile was even more august than usual. Miss Hardlot's first act was to glance threateningly about the room. Her gaze rested squarely on Bud, and remained there in shocked unbelief. The second act was to blaze, so suddenly that everybody involuntarily ducked, "Take that grin off your face at once!" To our ears this was the acme of unreason. It would have been as fair to ask Sarah Plotz to shorten her precocious legs, or Fat Jerndon to approximate normal proportions, or me to talk consistently in my oldtime treble. No wonder Bud turned ashen; he tried his amazed best, but the result was too pitiful for description.

A LL that fall Bud had suffered in silence, his face cut across by a scimitar of tight repression at one end and turned-up friendliness at the other. He seemed Miss Hardlot's pet aversion for no reason at all, and she never lost a chance to vent sarcastic gibes upon him. Gradually Bud became a sullen anachronism, caring little what befell him further. Sitting one day at his desk, he allowed his breath to escape through his teeth in such a way as to produce a whistle like that of a peanut roaster, and possessed of a certain ventriloquial quality. He was pleased to observe that he had aroused immediate interest. "Who is making that noise?" grated the Dragon. Nobody offered helpful information. Soon came the whistle once again and again no culprit was discovered. And thus for many days was Miss Hardlot baffled,

while Bud, under the congratulations of his lawless mates in the schoolyard, blossomed out into a defiant manliness worthy of most social accomplishments. But we all fall at times. One day, confident had he become, Bud whistled clearly, unaware that Miss Hardlot had moved around to the seat just back of him. In half-second she had gripped him by the collar. "So you're the who has been making that whistle!" "Wh-i-s-t-l-e-?", drawled Bud, with incredible self-command. "Yes, whistle!" shrieked the vexed Miss Hardlot, "and I want you to show me how you do it." Whereupon Bud, with consummate histrionic ability, protested that sometimes his shoe made a squeaking noise when he scraped his sole across the floor-boards. Miss Hardlot had him now. "Let me see you do it," she invited, grandly. And that inventive genius bent far over under his desk, scraped his shoe upon the floor, whistled sibilantly and in precise time between his teeth and we almost believed—for a second or two—that the noise indeed came from the friction of leather against wood. Strangely, Miss Hardlot herself believed it, although reluctantly, against her deep suspicion. Angered still more just because she did believe it, she still dared only shake Bud hard and tell him to stand straight, with feet upon the floor. Bud, for the rest of that year, was the whole school's hero!

BUT all his laurels were not won. Even his half-grin irritated. In the midst of a recitation one day, Miss Hardlot halted Bud and wrote upon the board a rhyme which flowed from his chalk so promptly as to show it had been forming for a score of days. She displayed it proudly, to the inward resentment of us all, and when we departed there it still was, with its studied insult:

A boy who grins and grins, in school,
Makes all suspect he is a fool.

Next day it was not there. As we settled down to pseudo business, however, we saw that something very different was there. There was a verse, printed in huge capitals, that by some miracle had escaped the stern one's notice. No clue of hand-writing was afforded to the author who had chosen to satirize, if you can call it that, the one most obvious physical fact about the bony Hardlot:

ALL THE ANGELS HAVE BIG FEET
BUT MARY HARDLOT HAS THEM BEAT.

How the victim of this crushing retaliation managed to endure to the day's end, I know not. But off in a corner of the schoolyard, that noon, a rolypoly, grinning boy held a reception that would have warmed the embittered heart of any misanthrope. For weeks things moved more smoothly; there was a quiet to the Hardlot speech, and a subtle feeling, intangible but real, that the scales of justice, once more on a level, might get along without attention for a while.

And right here I give Bud my thanks for making me see that among the numerous causes of war and crime and all-around human cussedness lie the best intentions of conscientious anarchists—in politics, economics, education, everything. And for making me see, too, that no tyranny can withstand the barbs of derisive, ribald laughter. Impertinence! Praised be thy holy name
ECCENTRICUS.

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that Europe was heading for another war and should this
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War does not protect; Think of what the women and children
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Do you know that wars do not happen; They are made; and
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war before it destroys mankind.

Do you know that since 1775 the U. S. Government spent about
\$66,000,000,000, of which about \$56,000,000,000 was for warfare?

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and in Europe have resolved, that you will never support
another war. If a sufficient number take this stand, there
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Ask your organizations, labor, social and religious, to endorse
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Also write to President Coolidge a postal or a letter, asking
for a program of world peace and the outlawing of all war,
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